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## Foreword

Bali, 'the island of the many temples', has long appealed to the imagination of the Westerner, and Balinese life has been the theme of several popular novels and travel books. There are, however, still fairly few products of scholarly research on Bali in English.

In those works that are available – books and articles by such eminent scholars as Jane Belo, Claire Holt, Margaret Mead, Beryl de Zoete, Gregory Bateson, Colin McPhee, and Walter Spies – one finds reference again and again to the fund of knowledge amassed by a handful of scholars from the Netherlands who have delved into Balinese studies, names such as those of R. Goris, C. J. Grader, and V. E. Korn. The trailblazing work of those scholars themselves has meanwhile remained largely unknown, written as it is in Dutch and hidden away in Dutch and Indonesian journals difficult for most students from other countries to come by.

One of the main objectives of the editors in planning this volume has been to make more generally accessible a sampling of the work of these and other Dutch scholars who have contributed substantially to the field of Balinese studies. At the same time an attempt has been made to select for inclusion a group of articles, papers, and monographs which, when read in conjunction with the introductory essay written especially for this book by Dr J. L. Swellengrebel, would constitute a concise introduction to the pattern of Balinese life and society.

A special problem in the editing of any work on Bali is that of the spelling to be used. The editors have found it advisable to spell modern Balinese and Indonesian words according to the rules

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## Biographical Notes

#4 HENDRICUS JACOBUS FRANKEN was born in Oostkapelle, on the Zeeland island of Walcheren, in 1917. After studying theology at Amsterdam University, he was sent out to Bali in 1946 as a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church. He returned to the Netherlands in 1951, and obtained his doctor's degree from the University of Leiden in 1954 with a dissertation on *The Mystical Communion with JHWH in the Book of Psalms* (Leiden, 1954). Since appointed to teach Biblical archeology at Leiden University, Dr Franken is at present working with a group of Dutch excavators at Deir Alla in Jordan.

ROELOF GORIS was born at Krommenie (North Holland) in 1898. He matriculated at Leiden University in 1918, and in 1926 obtained his doctor's degree with a dissertation *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche theologie* (Contribution to the Knowledge of Early Javanese and Balinese Theology; Leiden, 1926). The following year he began his career in Indonesia as research scholar and field-worker in government service – a career which he has continued for more than thirty years, interrupted only by his internment in the war period. Most of those years were spent on Bali, and the breadth of Dr Goris' knowledge of Balinese society is evidenced by a lengthy list of publications. Among these are two in English: "The Balinese Medical Literature", *Djåwå*, XVII (1937), 281–290, and *Bali: Atlas kebudajaan / Cults and Customs / Cultuurgeschiedenis in beeld* (Jakarta, n.d. [1955]). Dr Goris is now an Indonesian citizen.

CHRISTIAAN JOHAN GRADER, born in Magelang, Java, in 1906, matriculated at Leiden University in 1925, majoring in Indo-

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nesian studies (economic emphasis). In 1932 he entered government service in Indonesia, in which he remained until 1951. Apart from his internment during the war, most of his years of service were spent on Bali. In 1937–1938 he was in charge of preparations for the restoration of the Balinese self-governing principalities; in 1947–1948 he served in the personal cabinet of the (Balinese) president of the federal state of East Indonesia. After various positions and special assignments at home and abroad in the years 1951–1958, Mr Grader now teaches non-Western sociology at his *alma mater* and at Wageningen Agricultural University. His publications consist of ten monographs and studies on Balinese subjects, three of which are included in translation in this volume, plus a more general essay which has been translated as *Rural Organization and Village Revival in Indonesia* (Data Paper No 5, Cornell University Southeast Asia Program; Ithaca, New York, 1952).

VICTOR EMANUEL KORN, born in The Hague in 1892, entered Leiden University in 1910. After passing his civil service examination in 1913, he began his career as a government official in Indonesia. In 1917 he was appointed to his first post on Bali. Returning to the Netherlands in 1921, he again took up his studies at Leiden. The next year he published the book *Balische overeenkomsten* (Balinese Contracts; The Hague, 1922), and in 1924 he obtained a doctor's degree with his dissertation on *Het adatrecht van Bali* (Balinese *Adat* Law; The Hague, 1924). That same year he returned to Indonesia, where he continued to work as a civil servant until 1939. This second period in Indonesia, more than half of it spent on Bali, saw the publication not only of a second, revised and enlarged, edition of Dr Korn's book on Balinese *adat* law, but also of his *Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan* (The Village Republic of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan; Santpoort, 1933). In 1939 he was appointed professor of *adat* law at Leiden University, from which post he retired in 1959. Besides the books mentioned above, Dr Korn has written a number of shorter studies on Balinese subjects.

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114 JAN LODEWIJK SWELLENGREBEL was born at Rotterdam in 1909. He entered the University of Leiden in 1928, and in 1936 he obtained his doctor's degree with the dissertation *Korawdçrama. Een oud-Javaansch proza-geschrift, uitgegeven, vertaald en toegelicht* (*Korawdçrama:* An Old Javanese Prose Work, Edited and Translated with Commentary; Santpoort, 1936). From 1936 to 1941 Dr Swellengrebel was on Bali as a missionary linguist charged by the Netherlands Bible Society with the task of working on a Balinese translation of the Bible; for the last three years before the war he also worked on the government-sponsored project of preparing a Balinese-Dutch dictionary. After the war he returned to Bali for the Bible Society from 1947 to 1950, and from 1951 to 1959 worked on a Bible translation into Indonesian, meanwhile living in West Java. Now back in the Netherlands, he is attached to the translation section of the Netherlands Bible Society. Among Dr Swellengrebel's various publications are his study *Kerk en Tempel op Bali* (Church and Temple on Bali; The Hague 1948) and a translation of the Gospel of Luke into Balinese – *Orta Rahaju Manut Pangarentjanan Dane Lukas* (Jakarta, 1957). Of interest to the English-language student of Bali are also his "A Literal Translation of Mark I in Balinese" and "Bible Translation and Politeness on Bali", in *The Bible Translator*, I (1950), 75–78 and 124–130.

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for such a study. The long quotation on page 28 below places the present-day Balinese temple in its prehistoric perspective. Goris, in his essays "The Religious Character of the Village Community" and "The Temple System",[20] provides a general survey of the temple system and the temple cult. Grader describes a single temple monographically in his study "Pĕmayun Temple of the *Banjar* of Tĕgal" and a special type of temples in "The State Temples of Mĕngwi".[21] In his article on rice cultivation the religious responsibilities of the *sawah*-owners and the irrigation associations are also given attention. And Franken, in his "Festival of Jayaprana at Kaliangĕt",[22] illustrates how Bali's pantheon and temple system are still being extended from time to time.

## 7

### *Western Literature Regarding Bali*

A good thirty-five years ago, C. Lekkerkerker, then the librarian of the Bali Institute at Amsterdam, brought out an excellent bibliography of literature on Bali published between 1597 and 1919, including as many publications as possible in other languages alongside of those in Dutch.[23] A supplement covering the years 1920–1935, but this time restricted to "the most important literature on the culture of Bali", was published by Goris in 1937.[24] In this case, too, books and articles in Indonesian, English, French, and German were listed as well as those in Dutch.

The earliest Western writings on the island were usually based on brief chance contacts. The writers (beginning with Aernoudt Lintgensz., the first Dutchman to set foot on Bali, in 1597)[25] looked at the outward appearance, and their reports, though often containing interesting material, were not the result of serious research. The visits of Raffles and Crawfurd, in the early nineteenth century, were likewise little more than brief encounters.[26]

Around the middle of the nineteenth century the situation changed. At that time the German Sanskritist R. Friederich,

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sent to Bali by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in 1846, began regular research in Buleleng and Badung – research which brought to light any amount of interesting material, for example on the subject of the Balinese calendar,[27] and a number of manuscripts, including the *Usana Bali*.[28] It may be said that with Friederich the scholarly study of Balinese culture by Westerners had begun. He was followed by the first Dutch civil servant to be stationed on the island (in Buleleng), P. L. van Bloemen Waanders, who in 1857 and following years published a number of articles replete with information.[29] In 1870 H. Neubronner van der Tuuk settled on Bali, where he continued to work until the year of his death, 1894, first as representative of the Netherlands Bible Society and later in the service of the Netherlands East Indies government. We of today are indebted to this eccentric genius for a wealth of data on Old Javanese and Old Balinese and their literatures.[30]

In 1864 the Utrecht Missionary Society decided to send three Protestant missionaries to Bali. One of them, R. van Eck, disembarked at Buleleng in 1866, to be followed shortly afterwards by his colleague J. de Vroom. Beginning in 1871, the two of them published a series of studies which constituted important contributions to the philology and ethnology of Bali.[31] Then the year 1876 brought an article on local legal regulations by Van Eck in collaboration with the civil servant F. A. Liefrinck.[32] The latter was to devote to Bali an important part of his life and insight, and also of his engaging writings, among them "De rijstcultuur op Bali" (Rice Cultivation on Bali)[33] and "Bijdrage tot de kennis van het eiland Bali" (Contribution to the Knowledge of the Island of Bali),[34] both of which are products of meticulous field work.[35]

Liefrinck's publications, and those of the students of Bali writing in the preceding twenty or thirty years, were based on lengthy and close contact with the island and its people. Consequently such writers were able to distinguish various tendencies and nuances, for example in the pattern of the popular religion. They developed an eye for the special significance of the *desa* community and its

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culture, so different from that of the court sphere. The emerging picture of Bali became more varied and variegated than before, and richer in details – so much so that scholars sometimes threatened to be drowned in particulars and variants. Writers became more and more cautious with generalizations. As a result there developed a tendency towards monographic treatment – a tendency which we have to thank for such studies as Grader's description of Pĕmayun temple of the *banjar* of Tĕgal and Korn's of the village republic of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, both of which are included in part in this volume.[36]

In the years after Liefrinck's death Dutch civil servants continued to make important contributions to Balinese studies. I shall only mention, by way of example, H. J. E. F. Schwartz, who collected a large amount of material for a Balinese dictionary and for the study of the offering ceremonial,[37] and P. de Kat Angelino, who wrote studies on the priests and their ritual, on the craftsmen, and on *adat* law.[38]

Two of the authors represented in this volume, Korn and Grader, have carried on this tradition, while a third, Franken, continues that of his predecessor Van Eck. A fourth, Goris, might be considered a successor to Friederich, in view of his study of Sanskrit and Old Javanese. As more often happens in the world of learning, however, Goris is also sometimes the adversary of his predecessor, for example in refuting the misconception that the Balinese possessed the Indian *wedas*.[39] At the same time he is a representative of another branch of scholarship, that of archeological and epigraphic research, which particularly in this century has drawn Bali into its field of study alongside of Hindu Java. As a result our knowledge of Bali's early history has been enriched, and our vision of the development and nature of Balinese culture clarified, in particular as regards the relation between the non-indigenous and the indigenous elements amalgamated in it.

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That the authors of the chivalric romances had not only political and dynastic relations in mind is clear from the very wording of their accounts. Taking along the paraphernalia of a *kraton* and transferring the whole court are to their way of thinking the equivalent of transplanting a culture. Hence they looked upon Bali as a continuation of Majapahit from the cultural point of view as well. And this was not the fantastic idea of such authors, but reality, as appears from the following fact. The literature of the heyday of Majapahit lives on still on Bali; in fact a large part of it we know only from manuscripts which were copied out and preserved there. And not only were the Old Javanese writings preserved on Bali, but new ones were produced in the same style. The language used in them is not so much a descendant of Old Balinese as of Old Javanese, the so-called Middle Javanese.[22] These Old and Middle Javanese works are read and recopied even today, and still largely set the norm for what is officially recognized and appreciated as literature.[23]

The nature of the accounts referred to here differs from that of the *Usana Bali* as chivalric romances differ from myth. In the latter one can at best detect a sense which is in agreement with the general trend of Balinese history; in the former there are many details that can be compared with data from other sources: those in the inscriptions and chronicles, as we have seen, and later those in the Dutch East India Company documents. In one respect, however, there is agreement: in both, the origins of the realms and their culture are sought not in Bali, but outside – in the timeless Indian world of the gods, according to the myth, or in the eastern Javanese Majapahit of the time of Gajah Mada, according to the chivalric romances. We have already seen that the point of view of the myth is still alive. But alongside it that of the chivalric romances is also still valid. Whoever wants to count for anything on Bali, even in the present century, calls himself *wong Majapahit*, 'a man of Majapahit'. 'In the beginning was Majapahit'; what lies before it is a chaos of demons and villains about which the Balinese knows practically nothing.

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175 To the Balinese mind the two views are by no means mutually exclusive. Accordingly one of the finest European students of this Balinese literature believes that the author of the *Usana Bali* in his work:

> ... in which he set down an early indigenous tradition regarding the triumph of Hinduism on Bali, at the same time glorified the triumph of Hindu-Javanism over Hindu-Balinism ... In that case the *Usana Bali* is the *Usana Jawa*, with which it runs completely parallel, on a higher level; here Kulputih of Majapahit, there Gajah Mada and Arya Damar; here the Hindu gods with Mahadewa in the lead, there the forces of Majahapit under the king, the first *dewa agung* of Gelgel; here the triumph of Hinduism, there of Javanism; the inferior Bali is defeated in Mrajadanawa ...[24]

In all these sources the indigenous elements of Bali are of no significance. However, the question arises whether the serious student of Balinese history may rest content with such a view.

## 3

## *What History Does Not Tell*

175 The chivalric romances referred to in the preceding section were
114 written by court poets, and hence reflected the views of court circles. The *Usana Bali* likewise; its author, Nirartha (also called Pĕdanda Wau Rauh, and Dwijendra), was a Javanese Brahmin who probably came to the court at Gelgel around 1550, and there composed a large number of poetic works.[25]

That courtly culture has also set its stamp on modern historical research, since the data with which scholars have to work are, for the earliest period, primarily inscriptions, plus conclusions drawn from archeological findings. Both emanated from the sphere of the ruler, his priests, his chancellery, and his court. The ordinary man, the Balinese in his *desa*, is to be encountered in the inscriptions primarily as an object, to be governed, to be subjected to a regulation, to be granted a favour, to be assigned work on a temple. Hence everything we have learnt in the previous paragraphs regarding the history of Bali – the course of events and the conditions obtaining, as they can be deduced from the written sour-

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ces – has suffered from the same bias: it is the view of the court circles. 175 114

Now in later times the court circles found their cultural ideal in Majapahit: their orientation was Hindu-Javanese. And in the earlier period it was again the rulers who sought contact abroad. Hence the ruler and his retinue were inclined to emphasize the non-indigenous elements in Bali's culture and history, whether those elements were Hindu or Hindu-Javanese.

This view also colours the older Western accounts of Bali. Foreign visitors to the island went first to the court. Lintgensz., in 1597, talked with the king and his *patih*. Raffles, in 1815, likewise. Crawfurd, who visited Buleleng in 1814, repeatedly mentions Brahmins as sources of information for his description of Balinese religion, and Friederich does the same. The three men last mentioned were all acquainted with classical Hinduism. What they saw on Bali, in their contact with Brahmins and rulers, reminded them of it. True, they also saw many things that struck them as being anything but Hindu, but they saw such things through Hindu spectacles, and so had a distorted view. Raffles declared that:

> ... in Bali the Hindu faith, however blended with the local customs of the island, and however perverted and distorted in its application by a semi-barbarous people, is still the established religion of the country ...[26]

And Friederich stated that, after initial doubts, he became convinced of the Hindu character of the popular religion, adding:

> ... that only the small respect which the temples of the *sudras* enjoy from the priests has tarnished the objects of worship and corrupted the method of worship ...[27]

The Balinese religion, he felt, had originally been a duplicate of the Hindu, and what was not in keeping with the Hindu religion did not count. A similar opinion prevailed among other scholars for a time.

Eventually, however, students of Bali developed more of an eye for early Indonesian elements as against Hindu elements, the popular sphere as against the royal sphere. Research workers –

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among them the authors of the studies collected in this book – realized that in the peculiar culture which had developed on Bali the indigenous was at least as important as the imported, and that both parties had to be heard if a proper understanding of the culture as a whole was to be obtained.

How can one catch sight of the indigenous, early Indonesian culture of the Balinese, and study its development in the course of history? Four approaches may be mentioned.

(*a*) The inscriptions provide a large number of data on the *desa*, but, as has already been pointed out, they reveal it primarily as the ruler and his officials viewed it. How certain measures were adjusted to the popular sphere, for example, to what extent they were put in practice or remained Hindu theory or the pious wish of the ruler, seldom appears. The internal life of the *desa* usually remains vague. A great deal can be derived from the inscriptions,[28] but what is derived must be tested with other data.

(*b*) Prehistoric research goes back to the age before Hinduization had taken place. Hence it is an important means of getting to know Balinese life as it was before it had come in contact with imported elements. Such research is of particular significance for our knowledge of the popular and village sphere. For the royal sphere there are fairly early written sources, as was pointed out above, so there, at a rather early date, prehistory yields to history. For the popular sphere, however – in as far as it falls outside the written evidence of the royal sphere – the prehistorical period lasted longer; sometimes (in a number of isolated mountain villages, for instance) it continued until close to the present day.

(*c*) Cultural anthropology is also of value in this connection. By means of comparison with other Indonesian regions which had little or no contact with Hinduism or Hindu-Javanism it can often be estimated what conditions, customs, and objects are general Indonesian and so may have been a part of the culture of Mayadanawa's demonic followers mentioned in the *Usana Bali* or the "vile and base-hearted ruler" of the Majapahit court chronicle. For instance, the antithesis mountainwards and seawards,

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upstream and downstream, which is fundamental to Bali's culture and religion,[29] also appears to dominate the culture of the Ngaju Dyaks of southern Borneo.[30] 12 114 175

(*d*) In some parts of Bali there are still many cultural forms which – partly on the basis of data provided by one or more of the disciplines mentioned – may be assumed to perpetuate much of the earliest indigenous period. In this respect a number of mountain villages which have maintained their isolation, in many cases consciously, are of importance. In the mountain village Madenan, for instance, the older tribal organization into phratries is still reflected, so Grader believes, in the classification of the members of the *desa*.[31] And according to Korn the initiation rites known to us from other parts of the archipelago can be seen glimmering through customs in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan.[32]

In making use of this last source of knowledge regarding the indigenous Balinese culture scholars must constantly keep in mind, of course, that even in such villages time has never stood still, though a comparison to more rapidly changing areas may give that impression. The situation is rather that in these communities, although they have absorbed any number of later, Hindu-Balinese elements, the trained eye of the scholar can detect what are sometimes with certainty, sometimes with more or less probability early, indigenous elements.[33] This should be kept in mind, for instance, in perusing the fascinating second chapter of the picture album *Bali: Cults and Customs*,[34] in which modern photographs from villages considered traditional are used as illustrative of "The Ancient Indigenous Phase".

Working along these lines, one can detect an important number of early, indigenous elements in present-day Balinese culture.

From prehistoric research, for example, we learn that the so-called kettle drums spring from the bronze age. The most renowned Balinese example of such a kettle drum is the approximately man-tall 'moon' in Pura Pĕnataran Sasih, at Pejeng.

Another important detail is that the type and structure of the Balinese temples can most satisfactorily be explained as tracing

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back to megalithic culture. One of the scholars most at home in prehistoric Indonesia has defined the relation as follows:

> Now it is very remarkable, that the so-called Hindu temple of Bali can be traced back not to the temples of India but to the prehistoric megalithic sanctuaries. This appears at once from the fact, that in India the statue of the god is the centre of religious worship, whereas on the island Bali this is not the case. In India (and also on Hindu Java) the people worship f[or] i[nstance] the sungod Surya in the form of a statue, representing a man, sitting in a chariot drawn by seven horses. In the Balinese temples a stone seat is erected for Surya, onto which the godhead is supposed to descend in an invisible form, when the priest invokes him. As to the general form we may say, that in India and in Hindu Java the temple is a house or hall, on Bali it is a square surrounded by a wall.
>
> In ancient Indonesia and in Polynesia the sanctuary was always an open space, usually surrounded by a wall and often paved with great stones. Here all religious ceremonies took place. Here the great nature gods, such as the god of the sun, of the mountains, of the sea etc. were invoked as well as the souls of the ancestors, whereupon they descended upon the megaliths which were erected for them. Sometimes these were simply upright stones, sometimes stone tables, consisting of a flat stone on top of some smaller stones, sometimes stone seats, consisting of a prostrate (female) stone and at the back as a support an erect (male) stone. These megaliths are the forerunners of the shrines which are found at the back of the last temple court of the Balinese temples; they are destined for Surya, the god of the Gunung Agung etc. In some temples up till to-day the simple megalith monuments are still found to be preserved.
>
> Ancestor worship played an important role among the ancient Indonesians. Their souls descended onto the megaliths, for example onto the stone seats. As, however, the chiefs and the oldest men of the village were supposed to represent the ancestors they had the right to sit down on these stone seats at ceremonies and meetings. In this way groups of similar seats, as still exist for example at Gèlgèl, are the prehistorical forerunners of the present-day "balé agung".
>
> In the old Polynesian sacred places there was often on one side a stepped pyramid, consisting out of two or more terraces, built out of unhewn stones and growing smaller as it rose higher. ... On Bali several places are found consisting of a square which is either enclosed or not, having one or more stepped pyramids. They probably represent the celestial mountain in the same way as the multiple roofs of the Balinese Meru's. This type of sanctuaries is found especially in villages where the Hindu influence has been less intensified and where the old animistic conceptions are still surviving.[1]

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This study is an integral translation of R. Goris' essay "Het godsdienstig karakter der Balische dorpsgemeenschap" (The Religious Character of the Balinese Village Community), which was published in *Djawa* (Java), XV (1935), 1–16.

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On 19 October, 1937, R. Goris presented an address on "Bali's tempelwezen" (Bali's System of Temples) at Den Pasar as a part of the Bali Congress of the Java Institute held 18–23 October of that year. The Dutch text was published in *Djawa* (Java), XVIII (1938), 30–48; the present version, translated from it, has been drastically abridged, and contains only the barest essentials of the original address.

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This essay is an integral translation of R. Goris' "Bali's hoogtijden" (Bali's Festive Days), which was published in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Journal of Indonesian Philology, Geography, and Ethnology), LXXIII (1933), 436–452.

[no textual material: p. 112.]

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• 114

"De rijkstempels van Mengwi" (The State Temples of Mĕngwi) comprises the notes of a field trip through the area made by the author, C. J. Grader, in November, 1949. The study, which is presented here in unabridged translation, was published in Dutch in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Journal of Indonesian Philology, Geography, and Ethnology), LXXXIII (1949), 394–423.

[P.-154 contains no textual material]

[P.156]

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● 114

C. J. Grader's monograph "De poera Pamajoen van Bandjar Tegal" (Pura Pëmayun of the *Banjar* of Tëgal) was published in *Djdwd* (Java), XIX (1939), 330–367. In the present version a long passage on pages 334–338 of the original text has been briefly summarized and shorter passages on pages 343 and 348 omitted. Also to be found in the *Djdwd* publication, but not included here, is an appendix containing the Balinese-language text of the *baris dëmang*.

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"Het feest van Djajaprana te Kalianget" (The Festival of Jayaprana at Kaliangĕt), by H. J. Franken, was published in Dutch in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Contributions to Philology, Geography, and Ethnology), CVII (1951), 1–30.

[p. 232 contain no textural material ]

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river (and had immediately taken them along with him).[18] The charter story also did yeoman service as historical evidence.

## 5

### *Parallel Movements*

A certain amount of comparative material is to be found in Bateson's article "An Old Temple and a New Myth", and more is provided by three movements in northern Bali about which, so far as I know, nothing has been written.

Bateson describes the ceremonial contact between the villages of Bayung Gĕde and Katung. A *pĕmangku* in a trance discovered that a goddess in Bayung is the mother of a god in Katung. Hence a procession was organized, so that the son might visit his mother. During the visit both the *pĕmangku* and the female *balian* fell in a state of trance. In their utterances in the trance the mythical relation between the divinities was revealed, and this led the community to repair an old, abandoned temple, Pura Chĕkandik. Later there was a special ceremony in the temple at Bayung to ask questions of the gods regarding Pura Chĕkandik. During the ceremony the *balian* again fell in a trance and, using two methods of prophecy, described the plan of the temple and set the date for its anniversary festival or *odalan*.[19]

Reports from northern Bali also point towards the existence of several more or less parallel movements which do not fall under the category of generally occurring phenomena of *desa* religion. About 1924 there is reported to have been a huge religious movement in Kubutambahan, in northern Bali. There an enormous fish was washed up, the like of which had never been seen. As a consequence a worship movement came into being. According to reports it was believed that the fish brought a special message from a *batara* who was approachable through a trance. No disbelief was tolerated, for the fish was itself a *batara*. In the course of time the movement subsided noiselessly.

Not long after the capitulation of Japan and the return of Dutch power on Bali a deer came running into the village of Bubunan.

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The study "Het soebakwezen in het landschap Djembrana" (The *Subak* System in the Region of Jembrana), of which the following is an integral translation, was adapted by the author, C. J. Grader, from an unpublished *Nota van toelichting betreffende het in te stellen zelfbesturend landschap Djembrana*) (Explanatory Memorandum Regarding the Projected Autonomous Principality of Jembrana) which he had drafted in 1938, and was published, with the permission of the relevant authorities, in the *Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk* (Communications of the Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation), vi (1939), 12–34.

[p. 266 Contains no textural material]

[p. 268]

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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R. Goris' outline of "De positie der pande wesi" (The Position of the *Pande Wĕsi*), was published, together with his "Korte analyse van een lontar, door de pande wesi gebezigd" (Brief *Précis* of a *Lontar* Used by the *Pande Wĕsi*), in the *Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk* (Communications of the Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation), i (1929), 41-52. The present text is an unabridged translation.

[p. 290 ]

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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## The Position of the Blacksmiths

Recently the gild of blacksmiths on Bali, the *pande wĭsi*, has been in the news again, and it occurred to me that it might be desirable to recount something of the history of the group's social evolution. Leaving the special nature of the present difficulties completely out of consideration here, I shall restrict myself to a general historical survey of the position of the *pande wĭsi* as a group.

As early as 1905 Van Ossenbruggen pointed out that on Bali the smiths, and everyone who worked in metal, which is highly magical in significance, were themselves magically dangerous personalities.[1] A decade later this same eminent scholar of *adat* law, in a trailblazing article, considered the question anew in the general context of magically dangerous objects and crafts.[2] Further important data on the smiths and other craftsmen on Bali were collected by the *controleur* De Kat Angelino.[3]

To trace the development of relationships between the smiths and the *puri* or *kraton* of the ruler in nascent Hindu-Javanese (and later Hindu-Javanese Balinese) society, however, the Old Javanese epigraphs, inscriptions in stone and bronze, are of extremely great importance. Stutterheim pointed this out in an excellent article on various functionaries, officials, and craftsmen who enjoyed special incomes from the ruler's *puri*, at the same time demonstrating the magic significance of some of them as it appears in the epigraphs.[4]

An extensive comparative study which I have made has convinced me that these official documents of early Java are the best sources of information regarding the development of Hindu-Javanese (and later Hindu-Balinese) society, hence also regarding the aspect of that society under consideration here.

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1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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These authentic documents, which do not represent a traditional historiography such as is contained in the *lontar* literature, but reflect with documentary reliability the actual conditions at the time of their dating, demonstrate that before the arrival of Hindu culture on Java and Bali the *desa* was the political unit. All traditional indigenous power was vested in the *desa* authorities. And in the *desa* the smiths (including the blacksmiths, coppersmiths, and goldsmiths) were among the important craftsmen represented by an *ĕmpu*, a 'master' (smith).

This is true on Bali even today; specific functions in the village community are still performed by members of specific classes: *pasĕk*, *kĕbayan*, *pande*, and so forth.[5] All metal was and is considered by Indonesians as magically dangerous, magically 'charged', and anyone who desires to be in daily contact with it must himself have magic power at his disposal, since otherwise there are great risks involved. For this reason the smiths constituted a separate genealogical group in which not only the technique of forging was kept secret but certain magical craft usages were retained – usages in connection both with the initiation of apprentice-sons and with the tools of the trade, which on Bali even today may only be used after certain *mantras* have been recited. De Kat Angelino published these *mantras* in his instructive study,[6] and I have also found them listed in the 'codex of the smiths', the *Prasasti Sira Pande Ĕmpu*, to which I shall return below.

With the establishment and expansion of royal authority, and hand in hand with it that of the priests, who were also made members of the judiciary newly instituted after the Hindu model – in a word, with the rise and development of the Hindu-Javanese state, – it goes without saying that the older crafts and social forces were driven into the background.

Despite the Hinduism which he officially professed, however, the early Javanese or Balinese ruler was Indonesian to the core, and the magic power of the *pande wĕsi* was just as real to him as to every other Javanese or Balinese. In order not to turn that magic power against it, but rather in its favour, it seemed to the court group (the ruler and the priests, each with a vast host of subordi-

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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In 1926 V. E. Korn collected data on a number of villages in Karangasĕm, among them Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. At the request of the Tĕnganan authorities, he later worked up his notes on that village into the extensive monograph *De dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan* (The Village Republic of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan), which was issued in 1933 (Santpoort, the Netherlands) as a publication of the Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation. The following text is a somewhat abridged translation of Part One and Chapters Three, Four, Five (in part), and Six of Part Two of the monograph.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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A book about the life and traditions of the far-away island of Bali naturally involves in its preparation the co-operation of many companions on the island as well as scholars, translators, artists, and the makers of other books. I am grateful to all of them — too many to mention here. I am particularly indebted to Walter Spies and my many Balinese friends, especially my host, Gusti Alit Oka, and his family; to Edith J. R. Isaacs, who so patiently and sympathetically criticized and edited the manuscript; to Maimai Sze for invaluable assistance in the final preparation of the book; and to the Guggenheim Award which enabled [122] me to make a second trip to Bali to complete and check my material. Rose Covarrubias' co-[114] operation speaks for itself in the photographs which are so essential a part of the book.

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behind the walls come occasional tinkling sounds of practising on a *gamelan*.

As we became more and more familiar with our new life, and our ears grew accustomed to Malay, we made friends among the Balinese. We were already weary of the stolid prudishness of Dutch hotel life, and since we could not afford the high rates much longer, we looked for another place to live. Houses for rent that were not in the Arab, Chinese, or European quarter were non-existent in those days, but somehow we became attached to the household of our first Balinese friend — Gusti Alit Oka, an intelligent and dapper young man, prince by birth, carpenter by profession, and musician by choice. He agreed to rent us one of the pavilions of his house and undertook to improve our Malay. Our household consisted of the young prince's wife and child, two widowed aunts, and an old servant, a retainer of his father, the great warrior who was killed with his brother the Radja of Badung in their last desperate stand against the invading Dutch army twenty-nine years ago, when our host was a baby. Like a true Balinese prince, Gusti had his " man," an amiable but exceedingly ugly retainer, by name Katel, who followed his master admiringly wherever he went. We settled in Gusti's house, bought a few chairs and tables, had beds made, and hired a few nonchalant servants: a *djongos* who insisted his name was " Dog," a cook, and a chauffeur. We bought a decrepit Chevrolet and gave ourselves up to the full enjoyment of the island, going from feast to feast, dances, and cremations.

It was my good fortune to have made friends in those days with Walter Spies, Bali's most famous resident. The son of a German diplomat in Moscow at the outbreak of the World War, Spies was already well known in Europe as a painter in 1923, when I had admired and cut out reproductions of his paintings of Russia from the *Kunstblatt*, never thinking he was to become one of my closest friends. As fine a musician as he is a painter, Spies studied the music of the Tatars while interned in the Urals

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114 during the war years. After the war he ran away from disorganized Europe to the East until he reached Java, where he was called by the Sultan of Djokjakarta to organize and lead a Western orchestra. He lived for years in the Sultan's court learning their music. Then one day he went to Bali on a visit and has remained there ever since, and may, perhaps, for the rest of his life. In his charming devil-may-care way, Spies is familiar with every phase of Balinese life and has been the constant source of disinterested information to every archæologist, anthropologist, musician, or artist who has come to Bali. His assistance is given generously and without expecting even the reward of credit. Much of his enthusiasm and energy has gone to help the work of others, but he has achievements of his own: he was the first to appreciate and record Balinese music, he has collected every pattern of Balinese art, has contributed to Dutch scientific journals, has created the Bali Museum, of which he is the curator, and has now built a splendid aquarium. An authentic friend of the Balinese and loved by them, I feel he has contributed more to the prestige of the white man than the colonial despots who fail to impress the discriminating Balinese by the policy used to bluff natives into submission.

[123] The months went by as we roamed all over the island with Spies, watching strange ceremonies, enjoying their music, listening to fantastic tales, camping in the wilds of West Bali or on the coral reefs of Sanur. Walter loves to collect velvety dragonflies, strange spiders and sea-slugs, not in a naturalist's box, but in minutely accurate drawings. For days at a time he would sit in his tent drawing them, because once dead, their beautiful colours disappeared. He was temperamental when he went into seclusion to paint, he would work incessantly for months on one of his rare canvases, great pictures that made the Balinese exclaim: "Beh!" with their mouths wide open in astonishment, and that were snatched by prosperous art-loving travellers who were lucky enough to find Spies with a finished painting. There were never two paintings in his house at once. He paints dream-

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like landscapes in which every branch and every leaf is carefully painted, done with the love of a Persian miniaturist, a Cranach, a Breughel or a Douanier Rousseau.

When I could speak fair Malay, I discovered it was not enough. Malay was the trade language between Balinese and foreigners, spoken mainly by the new generations of the towns, so I started to learn a little Balinese to be able to understand the most interesting people of the island – the older men and women – but just then we had to leave our new home to return to America. On the way back we stopped in Paris, where the Colonial Exposition was going on. There we found friends from Bali – the Tjokordes of Ubud, feudal lords of Spies's village, the leaders of the troupe of dancers and musicians that were the sensation of the exposition. With them I continued to study the difficult Balinese language, because I had then and there made up my mind to return to Bali as soon as possible. I had some random notes, and Rose had taken hundreds of photographs. Someone in Paris suggested publishing an album of the pictures, with text from the notes, which I later decided were disconnected and quite unsatisfactory. We had grown so homesick for Bali that the only thing left to do was to return, so in the summer of 1933, partly assisted by a generous scholarship from the Guggenheim Foundation and partly with our savings, we sailed back to Bali.

At first we were disappointed; the tourist rush was in full swing and we began to hear that missionaries, unknown in Bali up to the time we left, were making converts, and everybody talked of trouble on their account. In Den Pasar a great many women had taken to wearing clumsy blouses, the young were developing contempt for Balinese ways, and the people complained of poverty, another novelty in Bali. Dutch gold currency had gone up, and even there, where trade is unimportant, prices had crashed to bottom levels. Only twenty-five cents could be obtained for one of the great sheafs of rice that before brought ten times as much; a cow could be bought for five guilders, and a pig for one. The Balinese were unable to obtain cash to pay back taxes, and their

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178 lands were being sold at auction. Newly acquired luxuries — imported articles — took their precious cash, and at first the situation seemed desperate. We feared we had made a mistake in
114 returning, and to escape the tourist-ridden, commercial Den Pasar, we went to live with our friend Spies in his beautiful house in Tjampuan, in the mountains near Ubud. We remained there for a few months among new Balinese friends, guided by the experience of Spies, working and collecting the material for this book.

But we missed our old friends and the activity of our former
114 village home. We were convinced that it was in the district of
123 Badung, around Den Pasar, despite the superficial changes, that the most sumptuous feasts were held and dances and plays were most frequent. I had now a teacher and translator who gave me daily lessons and helped with manuscripts. With Spies and the teacher, we moved the entire household back to Belaluan, to our old house, the home of Gusti Oka, who had in the meantime married a new wife, a beautiful young princess. Our dear friend Siloh Biang, Gusti's first wife, had fought with Sagung, her rival, and had run away to her mother, but our return brought Siloh Biang back. She preferred to remain with us in our part of the house rather than with Gusti and his new wife, and we often had to act as mediators in their family quarrels. At times this created difficult diplomatic situations. Some of our old friends had died, others had married or moved away, and the little dancers who only left our front porch to go to bed at night had grown into serious young women of thirteen or fourteen years of age. We became again members of the quarter of the village, the *bandjar* of Belaluan, home of one of the finest orchestras on the island, the *gong belaluan*, of which Gusti was a member. We had open door to the frequent local festivals, and within our compound we had opportunity to observe the daily life of the Balinese and to collect first-hand information for this book. The details given
114 here, however, cannot be taken as applying to the entire island;
184 each community has its own code, and what is law in one place

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is often ignored in the next. No two festivals are carried out in exactly the same manner and there are no two temples exactly alike. The general principles are the same everywhere, but the details vary from place to place and from caste to caste, and the traditions of the ancient mountain villages are different from those of the districts under the influence of the former rulers; to note them all would require an entire book for each custom or ceremony.

Not having made a systematic study of anthropology or of Oriental religions, the objective of this book is limited to the attempt to present a bird's-eye view of Balinese life and culture, both of which are inextricably bound to their deeply rooted beliefs and to their logical and harmonious living. The Balinese still retain their traditions and hold to their own manner of life, but they are only too willing to adopt every new idea, good or bad, brought into their island by merchants, tourists, unsuitable education, and missionaries. The only aim of this book, therefore, is to collect in one volume all that could be obtained from personal experience by an unscientific artist, of a living culture that is doomed to disappear under the merciless onslaught of modern commercialism and standardization.

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the beginning there was nothing, all was emptiness; there was only space. Before there were the heavens, there was no earth, and when there was no earth, there was no sky. . . . Through meditation, the world serpent Antaboga created the turtle Bedawang, on whom lie coiled two snakes as the foundation of the World. On the world turtle rests a lid, the Black Stone. There is no sun, there is no moon, there is no night in the cave below (the underside of the stone); this is the underworld, whose gods are the male Batara Kala and the female Setesuyara. There lives also the great serpent Basuki. . . .

"Kala created the light and Mother Earth, over which extends a layer of water. Over this again are consecutive domes or skies, high and low; one of mud (which dried to become the earth and the mountains); then the 'empty' middle sky (the atmosphere), where Iswara dwells; above this is the floating sky, the clouds, where Semara sits, the god of love. Beyond that follows the 'dark' (blue) sky with the sun and the moon, the home of Surya; this is why they are above the clouds. Next is the Perfumed Sky, beautiful and full of rare flowers, where live the bird Tjak, whose face is like a human face, the serpent Taksaka, who has legs and wings, and the *awan* snakes, the falling stars. Still higher in the sky *gringsing wayang*, the 'flaming heaven of the ancestors.' And over all the skies live the great gods who keep watch over the heavenly nymphs."[2] Thus we have it that the island rests on the turtle, which floats on the ocean.

As the last Asiatic outpost to the east, Bali is interesting to the naturalist as an illustration of the theory of evolution. In 1869 Alfred Russell Wallace discovered that the fauna and flora typical of Asia end in Bali, while the earlier, more primitive biological forms found in Australia begin to appear in the neighbouring island of Lombok, just east of Bali. Here the last tigers, cows

[2] This is from the *Tjatur Yoga*, a popular manuscript which I translated for the sake of practice on the language. It consists of ideas on cosmogony, mythology, legends of the creation of man, etc., ending in a confused set of rules for cremation and Balinese genealogies. The second half of the manuscript is extremely obscure, full of errors, and appears incomplete, perhaps owing to careless copying of an older palm-leaf book.

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However, in the more picturesque but less reliable historic records (*babad*) [5] it is stated that Madjapahit fell in 1478 under the reign of Bra Widjaya V (Krtabhumi, according to Stutterheim). Bra Widjaya was told by his chief priest that after forty days the title of Radja of Madjapahit would cease to exist. The king had such implicit faith in the prediction that at the expiration of that time he had himself burned alive. His son, unable to withstand the Mohammedan invasion and not daring to disobey the sentence of the priest, escaped to his last remaining colony; followed by his court, his priests, and his artists, he crossed over into Bali, settling on the south coast of Gelgel, at the foot of the Gunung Agung. There he proclaimed himself the king of Bali, the Dewa Agung, the hereditary title of the Radjas of Klungkung. The Dewa Agung divided the island into principalities which he gave to his relatives and generals to govern. By degrees these local chiefs grew independent of the Dewa Agung and became the Radjas of the smaller kingdoms into which Bali was later divided.[6]

It was of extreme significance for the cultural development of Bali that in the exodus of the rulers, the priests, and the intellectuals of what was the most civilized race of the Eastern islands, the cream of Javanese culture was transplanted as a unit into Bali. There the art, the religion and philosophy of the Hindu-Javanese were preserved and have flourished practically undisturbed until today. When the fury of intolerant Islamism drove the intellectuals of Java into Bali, they brought with them their classics and continued to cultivate their poetry and art, so that when Sir Stamford Raffles wanted to write the history of Java, he had to turn to Bali for what remains of the once great literature of Java.

[114]

## THE DUTCH

The Balinese princes prospered and soon started out for new colonies, extending their influence to the East and conquering

[5] Raffles: *The History of Java.*

[6] Badung, Gianyar, Tabanan, Mengwi, Bangli, Klungkung, Karangasem, Buleleng, and Djimbrana.

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no material traces of their megalithic monuments remain, or have yet been found, perhaps because archæological excavation has hardly begun in Bali. But a great deal of the old Indonesian spirit has remained in the daily life of the people, not only among the Bali Agas, but also alongside the Hinduism of the ordinary Balinese. As we shall see later, there are definite traces of what could have been the art of pre-Hindu times found today in the offerings, in the patterns of textiles, in certain sculptures, and the like.

Antiques are scarce in Bali, although there are thousands of mossy and battered statues all over the island, often of a more primitive style than the usual contemporary art. But a newly made statue appears of great age after six months of exposure to the damp climate of Bali, and, on the other hand, many ancient statues resemble those made in recent years. Many of the innumerable remains found in the temples, in jungles, or imbedded in the trunk of a *waringin* may easily be contemporary.

We made a sport of going out with Walter Spies into remote districts to find objects of what we called "native" Balinese style, and often located figures in wood, stone, and even clay that showed no trace of Hindu influence. There were demons, girls, primitive animals, and alarm-drums with faces carved on them that were reminiscent of Dyak, Batak, and Polynesian art. Spies is an enthusiast for the "megalithic" art and he has discovered many strange stones with primitive carvings, such as the stone in Bebitera, or the magnificent stone altar in Batukandik in the little island of Nusa Penida: a pyramid twelve feet high surmounted by the torso of a woman with large breasts, supporting on her head a stone throne like those from Nias, with two roosters standing on her shoulders, their heads resting on the palms of her hands. The style of the monument is decidedly Indonesian and so are the two little shrines, also in the same village, with well-defined signs of being one male, the other female. I was invited to accompany Assistant Controleur Grader and Spies on an expedition into the wilds between the mountains

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532 Batur and Bratan; descending slippery ravines, into jungles, and
114 up steep hills, we found many old statues overgrown with vegetation, some of which seemed from early Buddhist days, while others looked as if Hinduism had never penetrated into those districts. Particularly interesting were the pyramids and strange carvings in wood in Sanda and Selulung; or the Polynesian-looking statues in Batukaang and Pengadjaran.

534 Perhaps the most remarkable of antiquities in Bali is the great
773 bronze drum kept in the *Pura Panataran Sasih* in Pedjeng, the former home of the demon-king Maya Danawa. Some Balinese say that it is one of the *subangs* (ear-plugs) of the moon, while others say it is a *Sasih*, the "moon" itself, that fell down to earth and was caught in a tree. It remained there giving a blinding light, preventing some thieves of the neighbourhood from performing their nocturnal work. One of them, bolder than the rest, decided to extinguish the source of light and, climbing on the tree, urinated on it. The "moon" exploded, killing the thief, and fell to the ground in the shape of the present drum, which explains why it is broken at the base. The people rescued it and placed it on a high latticed shrine in the temple. The drum is
534 of the style of the so-called Chinese drums of the Han dynasty
171 often found in Indo-China and even in Java, but it is the largest
531 and most beautiful I have ever seen. The Pedjeng drum differs somewhat from the usual Han drums; it is elongated, with three great handles, rather like the bronze drums found in Alor, the island near Timor, where they are still used as money, some being worth as much as three thousand guilders.[1] The drum is decorated on its sounding surface with a beautiful star in high relief surrounded by a border of sweeping spirals, and on its sides with borders between parallel lines rather like the popular design called "spears" (*tumbak*) by the Balinese: ▼▼▼▼▼▼▼. Furthermore, there are strangely primitive, or rather conventionalized, human faces in low relief that have no obvious relation to Chinese art and that are strongly Indonesian, with the

[1] Ernst Vatter: *Ata Kiwan.*

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171 terious Indonesian bronze age.[2] The Pedjeng drum is regarded
534 with great reverence, and people often bring it offerings.
[776] Another motif which appears to be of native origin is the
531 figure called *tjilí*, a silhouette of a beautiful girl with a body shaped like a slim hour-glass (two triangles meeting at their apex), with rounded breasts, long thin arms, great ear-plugs, and wearing an enormous head-dress of flowers. *Tjilí* shapes are made in wood, of Chinese coins sewn together, woven into textiles, modelled in clay to surmount tiles for roofs, and made into clay banks for pennies. They are painted on rice cakes for temple ornaments in Selat, and made out of palm-leaf for certain agricultural ceremonies of the old mountain villages or as containers for the soul of the dead (*adegan*) for cremations. *Tjilís* form the central motif of *lamaks*, those beautiful but perishable ornamental strips of palm-leaf, about a foot and a half wide by some ten to twenty feet long, made for feasts by the women, pinned together with bits of bamboo strips of *busung*, the tender yellow blades of the sugar or coconut palm, taken from the tree before the leaf opens. This is decorated with a delicate geometric pattern, a mosaic of bits of the green leaf of the same palm, cut with a knife into elaborate ornaments which are pinned on the yellow background, forming borders like the ones on the Pedjeng drum, ornamental strips (*bebatikán*), groups of rosettes called "moons" (*bulán*), the *tjilí*, and a stylized tree (*kayon*). These magnificent ornaments, perhaps the purest examples of the Balinese native art, last only for one day, and after hanging for an afternoon on an altar or a rice granary, by evening they are
[114] completely wilted. Spies has collected every different type of
[184] *lamak* design for a period of years and he has hundreds of them. He claims that every community has a peculiar design not found elsewhere.

[776] The figure of a *tjilí* seems to have a strange hold on the im-

[174] [2] Heine-Geldern attributes the bronze drums and bronze weapons unearthed near Dông-Son in Northern Annam and Tonkin to a peculiar culture of the bronze age which he believes penetrated from northern into southern Asia not later than 300 B.C. and perhaps even as early as 600 B.C. He called this the Dông-Son culture.

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Elephants have never ex-
172 isted in Bali and the elephant motifs that appear so frequently in
332 Balinese art were importations from India or Java. As of Gunung
[136] Kawi, Kbo Iwá is also, according to popular belief, the author of the cave. Other hermitages with rock reliefs are the one near by called Toya Pulú; the Goa Racksasa near Ubud; Djakut Pakú, both on the river Oös (Uwos); and the caves near Kapal in Badung.

*Pedjeng:* In the ricefields approaching Pedjeng there is a beautiful stone water-spout in the shape of a youthful hermit holding in his hand a small human figure out of whose body once issued a stream of water. Farther on, in what appears to be the former site of a temple, are scattered fragments of classic statues; an altar of human skulls; the vague silhouette of a slim woman, covered with damp moss, fallen and half buried. The most complete statue is that of a wild raksasa crowned with skulls and about to drink from a larger, stylized human skull. In *Pura Panataran Sasíh*, the temple where the bronze drum is kept, there are a number of ancient statues, the majority being commemorative statues of former kings.

*Panulisan:* In the ruins of pura *Panulisan* on the mountain of the same name, are some fine statues of kings from the eleventh century.
[178] The temple was destroyed by an earthquake and despite the fact that it is regarded as of great holiness, an extravagant stairway of cement has been built to reach it, but the temple has not been repaired. Today one may visit the ruins only with a written permit from the local *pungawa*.

Other statues worthy of mention are the figures of Durga in the temple *Pondjok Batú* on the road to Tedjakula in North Bali and the great statue of *Dewa Ratú Pantjering Djagat*, over twelve feet high, the largest statue in Bali, kept jealously out of sight in the tower (*meru*) of the temple Trunyan, a Bali Aga
[178] village on the eastern shore of Lake Batur. The statue is considered very old and is held to have magic power. No one is allowed even to go into the tower, unless it is the selected "virgin" boys (*truna*) of the village, who on certain dates clean and paint the statue with a mixture of chalk, honey, and water,
● [114] accompanied by elaborate carefully observed ceremonials. An

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excellent description of this interesting feast has been written by Walter Spies in "Das Grosse Fest auf Trunjan" (see Bibliography). The ancient Balinese also left a number of ancient bronzes cast by the cire perdue process, some in the form

*Tjilis* painted in Black and Fuchsia on a Rice Cake (*Djadjan*) from Selat

of plates with inscriptions, drums, and little statues of deities and kings, some classic in style like the beautiful ones found in Java, others of a more primitive, perhaps local style. All of these antiquities are not in museums, but are still the property of the people, kept in the temples and honoured because of their antiquity, brought out of their wrappings once a year on the occasion of the temple feast of the village.

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346 teeth. For the same purpose there is a variation of this same
531 motif, a *karang astí*, the jawless head of an elephant. The word *karang* means a reef, a rock, but it also is the word for setting jewels or for a flower arrangement. It has been attempted to
[114] give these ornaments an esoteric religious meaning (according to Nieuwenkamp), the representation of the souls of inanimate objects — rocks, mountains, plants — of which they form a part; when a Balinese was pressed to explain why they did not have

*Karang Bintulu* chiselled on the Silver Sheath of a Kris

lower jaws, he replied that it was because they did not have to
[522] eat solid food! This is, in my opinion, a typical Balinese wisecrack and not an indication of any such symbolical meaning.

[171] These motifs are the starting-point for the intricate volutes, leaves, flowers, flaming motifs, and so forth, strongly reminiscent of those used in ancient Java, but also found in Siam, Cambodia, and even in the objects of the Dyaks of Borneo, a people uninfluenced by Hinduistic art. All-over patterns are called *karang*, while the carved borders in the mouldings are named *patra*, of which there is a *patra olanda* (from the Portuguese word for Holland?) and a *patra tjina*, a "Chinese border." Here and there small panels are carved with representations of episodes from their literature: animals from the *tantri* stories, the Balinese Æsop's fables; suggestive scenes from the *Ardjuna Wiwaha* in which the nymphs of heaven make passionate love to Ardjuna

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the rival orchestras were installed at either end of a large shed specially built for the occasion. A great crowd surrounded them. In the middle sat an impressive jury made up of the local princes and *pungawas*. The orchestras in turn played their best compositions while the audience remained silent. At the end the jurors went into deliberation and awarded the decision to the rival *gamelan*, who had come all the way from the district of Tabanan.

Despite the fact that there is no trace of Occidental influence in the music of Bali, even those who hear it for the first time are carried away by it. Musicians who have gone to Bali have become ardent admirers of Balinese music. Walter Spies was the first to take an interest in it and to write transcriptions, Leopold Stokowski wanted to bring a Balinese orchestra to America, and Colin McPhee has spent years in Bali compiling material and writing down the music. However, the laws of Balinese music are different from those of the West. There is in Balinese music a unified range of sonorities tending towards one sound; with the exception of certain bamboo xylophones, an incidental bamboo flute, or a two-string violin, all of the instruments are metals struck with mallets; there is a general tone-colour of metallic percussions — tinkling, acid sonorities that can be clashing and violent or soft and delicate, but are never sweet and plaintive. Their musical phraseology is simpler, more confined within a margin of sobriety, than our expansive and unrestrained music.

The Balinese have developed their music to the point of having a special type of orchestra for every purpose, each differing from the others in sonority, in the instruments composing it, in the pieces played, and even in scale. (The Balinese scale, with certain exceptions, consists of five notes, named from low to high: *ding*, *dong*, *deng*, *dung*, *dang*, corresponding to our E, F, G, B, C.) The "concert" orchestra is entirely different from the one used for feasts, cremations, and processions. The same holds true for the music employed for the various styles of plays and dances; the orchestra for marionette shadow-plays is radically different from the one used for the dances of young girls, which

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773 821 the noise possible, beating *kulkuls*, tin cans, drums, and gongs, to frighten away the bodyless head of Kala Rahu and free the threatened sun or moon.

796 The religious service of the *pedandas*, the *maweda*, consists in the recitation of the *mantras*, the magic formulas, accompanied by ritual actions and significant gestures of the hands and fingers (*mudra*) to give a physical emphasis to the spoken word. [787] Through concentration culminating in a trance, the priest becomes the deity itself, entering the body of the priest and acting through it to consecrate the water and emanate divine vibrations.

171 796 A performance of *maweda* by an able priest is one of the most beautiful sights in Bali. Such finished training, such showmanship, enters into its execution, and the hand gestures of the priest are so thoroughly imbued with rhythm and beauty, that the *maweda* is more than a simple prayer; it is a whole spectacle, a pantomimic dance of the hands. I have once seen a revealing film of a Nepalese Buddhist priest dancing with his entire body while he recited Sanskrit *mantras* and performed the symbolical hand gestures, and I have wondered if this was not the origin of the great art of Balinese dancing. Volumes have been written on the hand expression of the Hindus; *The Mirror of Gesture* of Comaraswami is already a classic; the beautiful hands of Indian, Tibetan, Chinese, and Indonesian Buddhist statues and frescoes are well known, and in Java we find the statues of the Buddhas of Borobudur in the positions of the *mudras*. De Kat Angelino [114] in his *Mudras* gives us the most thorough study up to date of the Balinese *maweda*, painstakingly illustrated by Tyra de Kleen. Only a moving picture, however, could give an idea of its eerie beauty.

793 796 The most important activity in the everyday life of the *pedandas* is the performance of a domestic *maweda*, done every morning and on an empty stomach. Every fifth day (*klion*) and on days of full and new moons, the *maweda* is essential and more complete, with the full regalia of important occasions.

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cremation of the Regent of Buleleng's daughter, a small pavilion caught fire near where the high priest performed the *maweda*, almost burning, prematurely, the corpse lying in state; the priest went on with his prayer totally unmindful of the wild screams of the women attendants and the rushing relatives, who extinguished the flames.

To become himself again, the priest sprinkles water towards him and "drives back his soul into the stomach." He takes off his ornaments and pins a little bouquet of multi-coloured flowers over his hair knot. This ends the ceremony, and he sprinkles his relatives and neighbours with the remaining holy water.

Despite the secrecy with which the priests surround the knowledge of the Sanskrit *mantras*, a good many of them have been studied and translated by Dutch and Javanese scholars, such as De Kat Angelino, R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, and Dr. R. Goris, and I refer those interested in *mantras* to their works. Most sacred of all the aphorisms of the *pedandas*, and as typical as any, is the *kuta mantra*: "OM, HRAM HRUM SAH, PARAMA-SHÎVA-DITYÂTA NAMAH: Om, hram hrum sah, praise be to the all-high Shiva, the Sun" (Goris).

Religious knowledge is transmitted from father to son or from teacher (*gurú*) to pupil (*sisiya*). The priest then becomes his pupil's absolute master and his father; even in case there be no blood relationship between them, marriage with the teacher's daughter would be considered as incest, a most dreadful crime. All Brahmanas are eligible to become *pedandas* with the exception of lepers, madmen, epileptics, the deformed, and those who have received dishonourable punishments. The pupil learns Kawi first, the classic language, to study the preparatory texts; is taught the moral principles by which to rule his life, which are, according to De Kat Angelino, the capital sins: crime, greed, hypocrisy, envy and ill temper, morbidness; the five commandments for the outer world: Thou shalt not kill, not steal, be chaste, not be violent, adhere to the principle of passive resistance; and those for the inner self: avoid of impure foods, or

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782 decorated with lacy garlands of pig's fat and stomach tissues (omentum) which can be seen at great festivals.

Ordinary offerings to the house and for temple feasts are made by any woman; but for special occasions an offering, to be effective, must conform to certain specifications based on the influences that rule the day: the calendar, the cardinal directions, numerology and so forth. Each day of the week has its colour and numerical value that dictate the flowers to be used and the number of units in the offering. These rules are often specified in the adat, the traditional village law, but they are better known to professional offering-makers, Brahmana women (Idayú), who are engaged for a fee to direct the making of them.

[783] Offerings are sharply divided into "unclean," evil-spirit offerings (metjaru, banten sor, pasegan) and "pure" (sukla) offerings for the gods.

793 4. The Sunguhu. Sunguhus are low-caste priests whose main office is
564 the dedication of devil offerings in ceremonies of purification. Although
[783] Sudras, the sunguhu are a proud caste in themselves and claim descent from Sanghyang Tunggal and from Sanghyang Meleng, the Sun. The paraphernalia of the sunguhu, although generally poor and in deplorable condition, and their ritual are practically identical with those of the high Brahmanic priests; but accessories peculiar to sunguhus are the conch-
[534] shell blown by an assistant during his prayers, and the double drum
[171] similar to that of the Tibetan lamas, which in Tibet are made of two sections of the top of human skulls.

Like the high priests, they wear their hair long and in a knot, worn
302 low at the back of the neck and not on top like the pedandas, because
773 the worthy I Tusan, patron saint of blacksmiths and the greatest iron-
793 worker of ancient Gelgel, was unjustly exiled by a pedanda, who in time repented and, troubled in his conscience, tried to restore I Tusan, going into the forest in search of him. The blacksmith agreed to return only on condition that the pedanda carry him on his back. He had to comply and all the way the blacksmith hung on to the priest's topknot, pulling it down his neck (De Kat Angelino: *Mudras auf Bali*).

Dr. Goris (*Secten op Bali*) is of the opinion that they were the priests
114 of the wesnawa sect, now disappeared, the worshippers of Wisnu and Sri.
793 His attributes — the conch-shell, the turtle, the fiery wheel (*tjakra*) — are all Visnuite symbols. Furthermore, his spoken formulas, like those of the high priests, are in Sanskrit. He is in charge of the offerings of the Underworld, in contrast to pedandas, who dedicate the offerings to the Sun and Sky.

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Siwa's wife, becomes Durga; Wisnumurti or Brahmamurti are the *krodha* manifestations of the gods Wisnu or Brahma, and the average Balinese has come to regard them as many-armed, ten-headed demons of mythology, because their freakish appearance is incompatible with his idea of divinity. The notion remains, however, that a formula of magic intended to give the spiritual health for which they strive, if turned backwards (as in the case of Rangda's book on magic), becomes a powerful source of evil magic. Thus magic is sharply divided into good magic of the "right," *penengen*, and magic of the "left," *pengiwa*, black and evil; both based on the same principles and almost identical in procedure.

### THE PENGIWA. HOW TO BECOME A LEYAK

The learned, those possessing a highly trained mystic power, often become "infected in their heart" and misuse their knowledge to transform themselves into werewolves who revel in crime and blood, reverting to the wicked instincts of demons. They instruct pupils in the secret magic and become chiefs of legions of *leyaks*.

When I first became interested in magic, my Balinese friends tried to dissuade me, claiming that unending calamities would befall me if I persisted. None would admit he knew anything about how to become a *leyak* and in general the subject was delicate as a matter of conversation. Eventually someone brought me a manuscript for sale, probably stolen, obviously belonging to the magic lore. The very sight of it frightened them, and it was with certain difficulty that I induced my usually skeptical teacher of Balinese to help me translate the text. Even he deliberately distorted the order of the syllables and I had to correct them afterwards, checking and rechecking individual words. Later on I obtained another palm-leaf book which was considerably more accessible because it contained magic of the "right," and from the two I tried to procure a general cross-section of magic procedures.

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with long sticks after the unburned pieces of wood are taken away. Water is poured over the embers, and the remaining bits of bone with some ashes are piled into a little mound which is covered with palm-leaves. Green branches of *dadap* are tied to each of the four posts of the cremation pavilion, and surrounded by a rope of white yarn, thus closing it "to forget the dead." The remaining ashes are then blessed and placed in an urn, a coconut inscribed with the magic *ong* and wrapped in white cloth. It is customary that this be done just as the sun has begun to set. A new procession is formed for the march to the sea, where the ashes will be disposed of. On arrival at the seashore, or at the river if the sea is too far away, the priest wades into the water to ask of the sea or the river spirit to carry the ashes safely out. The ashes are then carefully strewn over the waters and the whole congregation bathes, to cleanse themselves before returning home in the darkness.

### THE SACRIFICE OF WIDOWS

Cremation rites have remained practically unchanged for the last three hundred years, except perhaps for the suppression of the notorious Indian custom of suttee, the sacrifice of widows of deceased notables, burned alive on their husband's pyre. This custom seems to have enjoyed great popularity at one time among the Balinese aristocracy, although today it has become merely a legend. A hundred years ago the pioneer historian of the Malay Archipelago, John Crawfurd, gave us the first English account of a widow-burning that took place in 1633, when the Dutch sent a mission to Bali to gain the prince of Gelgel, then sole sovereign, as their ally against the Sultan of Mataram, who was driving attacks on Batavia. The Dutch found the Balinese king making preparations for the cremation of his wife and his two eldest sons. The manuscript account of the mission was translated by a Monsieur Prevost and published in an early *Histoire des Voyages*. Among the passages of the Dutch narrative quoted by Crawfurd are the following:

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764 in these religious exercises, are instructed by the aged women who
762 accompany them. . . . Those who have devoted themselves, are
567 made to pass the night in continual dancing and rejoicing. . . . All pains are taken to give them whatever tends to the gratification of their senses, and from the quantity of wine which they take, few objects are capable of terrifying their imaginations. . . . No woman or slave, however, is obliged to follow this barbarous custom. . . ."

The remainder of the narrative proceeds like any other of the
[114] great cremations that are held today. Another interesting account of widow-burning is given us by an eyewitness, the scholar Friederich, of the cremation of the Dewa Manggis, Radja of Gianyar, which took place in that town on December 22, 1847:

764 "The corpse was followed by the three wives who became Belas.
762 A procession went before them, as before the body. . . . They were seated in the highest storeys of the Bades. . . . After the body of the prince had arrived at the place of cremation, the three Belas in their Bades, each preceded by the bearer of the offerings destined for her, with armed men and bands of music, were conducted to the three fires. . . .

"Their Bades were turned around three times and were carried around the whole place of cremation. The women were then carried down steps from the Bades and up the steps of the places erected for their cremation. These consisted of squares of masonry three feet high filled with combustibles which had been burning since morning and threw out a glowing heat; the persons appointed to watch them fed the fire, and at the moment when the women leaped down, poured upon it a quantity of oil and arrak, so that it flared up to a height of eight feet and must have suffocated the victims at once. Behind this furnace stood an erection of bamboo in the form of a bridge, of the same width as the square of masonry, about forty feet long and from sixteen to eighteen feet high; steps of bamboo led up to it in the rear. In the centre there is a small house, affording a last resting-place to the victim, in which she waits till the ceremonies for her husband are finished and his body has begun to burn. The side of the bamboo scaffold nearest the fire is protected by a wall of wet Pisang (banana) stems. Upon the bridge

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CHAPTER XII

# MODERN BALI AND THE FUTURE

"ISN'T BALI SPOILED?" is invariably the question that greets the returned traveller from Bali — meaning, is the island overrun by tourists, and are the Balinese all wearing shirts? The questioners are visibly disappointed to hear of big hotels, fine roads, and motor-cars; there is still enough of the Robinson Crusoe in travellers to make each one of them want to be the "only" white man among picturesque semi-naked, dark-skinned savages, although they would preferably see them from a motor-car or a hotel veranda. 177

Bali was only conquered by the Dutch in 1908, but long before that the libraries of Holland had been filling slowly with scholarly volumes on the literature, the archæology, and the religion of Bali. However, the remote little island only became news to the rest of the Western world with the advent, a few years ago, of a series of documentary films of Bali with a strong emphasis on sex appeal. These films were a revelation and now everybody knows that Balinese girls have beautiful bodies and that the islanders lead a musical-comedy sort of life full of weird, picturesque rites. The title of one of these films, *Goona-goona*, the Balinese term for "magic," became at the time Newyorkese for sex allure. 114 648

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797 would be of no avail to a Christian. He recovered and it is needless to say that he held a great offering feast of thanksgiving. Stories such as these are repeated endlessly in Bali, but perhaps the best illustration of the superficiality of the convictions of the new Christians is the following conversation between a young convert and an enlightened official:

"Why did you renounce your religion?"

"Because I believe!"

"Believe what?"

"I believe in Jesus Christ."

"Who is he?"

"That *Tuan* (European) with the black coat that comes often from Lombok." [1]

Eventually the disturbances became too noticeable and the American missionaries had to leave. Until then the Dutch missions had restrained themselves from further activity in Bali, but when the news came that rival missionaries had succeeded in making a few converts, they went up in the air and are now pulling every rope to have the law modified. Bitter controversy flared up in the papers in Holland and Java; the missionaries claimed that the Balinese were finally ripe for conversion because their religious feeling was, at last, breaking down. A Dr. Kraemer, head 114 of a Protestant missionary sect, went to Bali to investigate and, 797 after a stay in the island of a little over a month, wrote a thick volume in which he aimed to prove the failings of the Balinese religion, and the idea that the Balinese really wished to become Christians, but were opposed by European intellectuals living on the island. This argument was quickly answered by Tjokorde Gedé Rake Soekawati, the Balinese representative in the Volksraad, the "People's Court," in Batavia. Dr. Kraemer's prejudiced "findings" were entirely wiped out by answers and an analysis of his arguments by the real students of Bali, men like Bosch, Goris, Korn, Haga, Lekkerkerker, De Bruyn Kops, and

[1] *"Knapa Ktoet boeang agama Bali?" — "Sebeb saja pertjaja!" — "Pertjaja apa?" — "Saja pertjaja Toean Jesoes Kristos." — "Siapa dia?" — "Itoe Toean jang pake badjoe itam jang sering datang deri Lombok."*

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Damsté. Dr. Goris has pointed out that the view of the missionaries is based on the principle that all peoples are by nature "no good" and in a hopeless "soul-conflict" that can only be remedied by the peculiar brand of religion the missionaries preach. Finding little evidence of this "soul-conflict" in the Balinese, the missionaries encourage it or try to create it by stirring up the natural animosity of the lower classes against the high castes and by playing on their poverty, thus encouraging the caste struggle rather than abolishing it, as was their claim. Curiously enough, the same missionaries who accuse the Balinese of religious superficiality approve of the converts made under false pretences who know nothing of Christianity except rubber-stamp Malay phraseology.

In the meantime, while the controversy rages on, the shrewd missionaries are steadily gaining ground. At present a Catholic priest and a Protestant missionary are stationed in Den Pasar, and another missionary, a Catholic, is stationed in Buleleng, all three undoubtedly discreet but tireless in their efforts to "save" the Balinese.

But Bali is certainly not the place where missionaries could improve in any way the moral and physical standards of the people and it is hard to believe, knowing the Balinese character, that they will succeed. Religion is to the Balinese more than spectacular ceremonies with music, dancing, and a touch of drama for virility; it is their law, the force that holds the community together. It is the greatest stimulus of their lives because it has given them their ethics, culture, wisdom, and joy of living by providing the exuberant festivity they love. More than a religion, it is a moral philosophy of high spiritual value, gay and free of fanaticism, which explains to them the mysterious forces of nature. It is difficult to imagine that it will ever be supplanted by a bleak escapist faith devoid of beautiful and dramatic ritual.

The little island of Bali, now famous for the beauty of its people, its intense religious life, and its colourful arts, music,

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ment of the people than most imperialistic colonizers and in many cases have sided with the people against the princes despite the fact that the old system of government of the Radjas was preserved. No more can the despotic princes enslave or exploit their helpless subjects, or as in old times kill or punish savagely someone for such offences as disrespect or disobedience. Only two of the former Radjas, those of Gianyar and Karangasem, because of "loyalty" to the Government, retain their feudal rights — in a considerably limited way, however — while the others are rulers only in name. The Dutch have also stopped the bloody wars between petty chieftains, and widows no longer kill themselves at the pyre of their noble masters. Taxation still burdens the habitually penniless peasants, although now at least they receive certain returns for their money in the form of protection, health services, roads, and so forth.

Dr. Korn (*Adatrecht van Bali*) has already pointed out that the problem confronting the Dutch in regard to Bali is the gradual incorporation of the Balinese into modern life from mediæval isolation through a better understanding of their institutions. Fifty years ago, when Liefrink took charge of the administration of North Bali, he understood that it was best to leave things more or less as they were. But in South Bali the change came more suddenly; the ruling houses collapsed overnight and the Dutch had to reorganize the government of their new conquest hastily and without a thorough knowledge of the island's laws and customs.

In late years the Government of the Netherlands has commissioned scholars like Doctors Korn, Goris, and Stutterheim to make studies for a better understanding of the law, the religion, and the history of Bali. Perhaps through these studies those in charge of the colonial policy of the Netherlands will realize, in the first place, that the Balinese have a great culture that cannot be saved by the admiration of the outside world, but only by commanding the respect and appreciation of the Balinese themselves; that the native arts need no encouragement, simply because they

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## Acknowledgments

The material for this monograph was collected in Bali—then part of Netherlands East Indies, now part of the Republic of Indonesia — between 1931 and 1939, before the Japanese occupation. This paper was originally designed as part of a much longer, still unpublished volume on Balinese trance; the pattern of trance behavior repeats in the experience of the entranced individual the pattern of the temple feast in which the gods are first invoked, then entertained, and finally persuaded to depart. Because a formal outline of the Balinese temple ceremonial should be of interest to students of many other sorts of cultural phenomena besides trance, it has seemed desirable to publish this segment now.

This monograph deals with the pattern of the *odalan*, the major calendrical feast of a Balinese temple, as it was celebrated in Sajan, a village in the central part of South Bali, District of Gianjar, in 1937–38. I have confined myself to the actual ceremonial in this temple, but my discussion is based on observations of numerous *odalans*, in different types of temples in many parts of Bali. The photographs are of other temple feasts as none were taken at this ceremony.

During the latter part of my field experience in Bali, I worked under the supervision of and in close collaboration with Dr. Margaret Mead and Mr. Gregory Bateson. For their assistance, interest, and encouragement I am deeply grateful. To work with them was a privilege, and the training I received has been invaluable to me. Margaret Mead has also given generously of her time, and the benefit of her specific knowledge of the area, in cross-checking the present manuscript and preparing it for publication.

Two Balinese are to be especially thanked for their invaluable contribution to this particular study, my secretary, Goesti Madé Soemeng, and the *pemangkoe désa* of *Bandjar Koeta*, Sajan, who served as my principal informant on the temple ritual. For the cooperation of all our Balinese friends I am also very grateful.

I want to acknowledge my debt to the late Professor Ruth Benedict, who read the original material and helped so much in relating the detail to an understanding of the total culture; Dr. Rhoda Metraux for reading and making suggestions on manuscripts in progress; Mr. Colin McPhee, for the photographs reproduced here; Dr. R. Goris, Dr. Robert Heine-Geldern, and Dr. Andrew Yarrow for their helpful interest in unraveling the bits of archaic Sanskrit, and the Department of Anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History, and in particular

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It must be remembered that we are referring here to the village temple priests (*pemangkoe*) who are simple officiants and guardians of the temples, and should not be confused with the Brahmin high priests (*pedanda*) to whose province belongs the study and understanding of the classical texts. If these village priests know the *mantras* they have learned them by rote, perhaps reading them off the palm-leaf manuscript (*rontal, lontar*) which was copied out by their predecessor, who was also no scholar, who would not have recognized an error if he saw one, and who no doubt added a few errors of his own in the transcription. When one considers the manner in which these prayer formulae have been handed down among the people for 600 years, no one "daring to understand them" sufficiently to question the obscure meaning, each one accepting the errors of former scribes as a part of the original holy text, faithfully copying them off a molding and disintegrating leaf of palm, in reverence and anxiety lest the holy words be lost — the wonder is not at the corruption of the texts, but at their survival in anything like a recognizable form. For the Sanskrit texts we have given below, that correspond to the prayer formulae recited by the village priest, we are indebted to Dr. R. Goris, the Dutch archeologist for many years stationed in Bali. Dr. Goris published these texts in his *Bijdrage Tot de Kennis der Oud Javaansche en Balinèesche Theologie*, in Leiden, 1926. At the time our study was made he kindly identified for us the versions we had got from the village priest, and gave us the free translations in English. Changing the writing from Balinese script into Roman characters, using the Dutch phonetic spelling, perhaps is unfair in making the village priest's version seem more distant than it would in the syllabic writing.

It would appear to the student of Balinese ritual that the occurrence of trance in the ceremonial is one of those features which vary from village to village. In some villages we have seen, year after year, the trances break out at a given moment in the ceremonial, to the point that we felt able to predict at what stage of the proceedings trance would occur in that particular temple. But in another temple, the same ceremonial might be repeated, year after year, and no one go in trance. In another, trance would break out, almost as at a given cue, at quite another point in the ritual sequence. It is impossible to connect the various forms of trance seizure with any specific rite, to look upon it as an inevitable accompaniment to this rite in different localities. It is possible to state that trance activity is cued in some specific localities to specific rites. In many villages it is not customary to go in trance at all. Conceivably a spontaneous trance outburst could always occur, and might be followed in later years by repetitions of the phenomenon at the same point. We cannot be sure that the trance activities did not once exist in these villages, and have not fallen into desuetude. Neither can we be

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they are given a final rousing send-off (*ngeloearang*), and the villagers, their subjects, shout after them as they depart.

It will be seen how many of these patterns, institutionalized as homage to the godly presences, are carried over in the treatment of the entranced. The invitation to the gods to descend, by the same means as that by which they enter the god-figures, the "ladder" of smoke from the incense brazier, the dressing, the symbolic toilette, the offering of an honored place to be seated, the giving of food and betel and libations of wine, and finally the send-off, all may appear in the ceremonial offered to the entranced. It must be understood that these attentions are given to the people in whom the gods have manifested their presence by the state of trance, in the same spirit as they are given to the little god-figures at the temple festival.

The temple festival of which we will give the record took place in the temple, *Poera Nagasari*, in the village of Sajan, April 21 to 25, 1937. Sajan is the village in which I lived from 1932 till 1939, as a member of the ward *Bandjar Koetoeh*, to whose 105 households the temple belongs. The record is from my notes and from those of Goesti Madé, my Balinese secretary, who with me attended throughout the proceedings, even sleeping in the temple when there was a few hours' pause in the ceremonial. The officiating priest, *pemangkoe désa* of *Bandjar Koetoeh*, Sajan, was a good friend. He explained the various rites so far as possible as they went along, and, afterwards, gave many hours to discussing the points which remained unclear.

The 105 households of the ward *Bandjar Koetoeh* are said to *njoengsoeng* (to support, literally, to carry on the head) the temple, *Poera Nagasari*. The festival in this temple occurs once a year on the day called *boeda manis djoeloengwangi*. When, in six months, that day comes around again, a smaller festival called *sepèn* (*sepian*) is held. For the big festival, the *odalan*, the people say, "The gods stand for three days" (*Ida Betara meketeloen ngadeg*), but in reality the celebration formally begun on the evening of *boeda manis*, a Wednesday, lasts until after dawn of the following Sunday morning.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The material on which this paper is based was collected in Bali, Netherlands East Indies, during the period between 1931 and 1939, before the Japanese occupation. Because of world events in the period which has followed, it has seemed advisable to change the names of informants and subjects. Place names and dates of ceremonials have been left unchanged.

During the latter part of the period of residence in Bali the author did field work under the supervision of and in close collaboration with Dr. Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson. For their assistance, interest, training, and encouragement I am deeply grateful.

To Katharane Mershon I am especially indebted, for her friendship and cooperation, for introducing us to the villages near her home, and for the insight and enthusiasm she contributed over many years.

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And I want especially to thank my husband, Frank Tannenbaum, for his patient interest throughout.

[p. v]

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# CHAPTER ONE

## Balinese Society

To write of Bali, of Balinese society, is not like writing of a primitive society. It is not like a simple piece of whole cloth, to work out the pattern of which it would be sufficient to study the various strands and their interweaving. Balinese society has a number of patternings, which are overlayed upon each other, which are often conflicting, often confusing to the observer for the inconsistencies they necessarily entail. There are no simple, forthright rules which are consistently held to from village to village; there are no hard and fast boundaries of conduct and belief separating off one caste division from another, one social stratum from another, one status from another. It is a society which is both segmented and stratified—and yet to apply to it classificatory terms invented for the description of industrialized western Europe would be meaningless, even misleading. Likewise, to expect to be able to derive from the data on the structure and function of any single group, a geographical unit, a caste unit, a temporal grouping, general principles which would apply throughout the whole, as we could reasonably hope to do for a primitive society, would be equally meaningless and perhaps even more misleading.

There is nonetheless in the Balinese social picture a very definite character, a special Balineseness, which, I believe, carries through the culture at all levels and in all the varieties of its patternings. It is with this character that we are concerned, its psychological makeup, its cultural makeup, its historical antecedents, its ecological setting. To place what is to be said in its social context, it will be necessary first to sketch the nature of the Balinese society.

In Bali today, we can distinguish a number of levels of development, which, though they refer to different periods of the past, coexist in the present. They illustrate, as it were, different strata in the social and historical process. Thus one can still find in the remote mountain areas village communities which bear a strong resemblance to the known patterns of Old Indonesian community organization, common in the simpler cultures throughout the archipelago. One finds throughout Bali named, hereditary guild-caste membership (*pandé*, smith; *pasek*, warrior or guardian), which,

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it is assumed, antedates the introduction of the Hindu four caste system. The three top castes of the Hinduistic system, Brahmana, Satrya, and Vesya, maintain a feudal order of their own in the areas which they inhabit, referring to the rest of the population as *djaba*, outsiders.[3] At the time of the Dutch conquest in 1906 Bali was ruled by seven kings, called *radja* or *dalem*, who made war upon each other or formed alliances, whichever seemed more to their interest.

Up until the time of the Japanese conquest, in 1942, there had been almost no talk of the abolition of caste, and this only in the towns, Boeleleng and Den Pasar, where Javanese, Arabs, so called "Bombay" merchants, and the Chinese formed a mixed population. Today, contemporaneously with the friction in political circles centering in Java, there appears to carry through a certain continuity in the role of caste and its significance in the society. At the present time the head of the eastern division of the government, whose seat is in Macassar, Celebes, is a Balinese of the very highest princely rank, a *tjokorda;* a man who was educated in Holland, speaks Dutch and English perfectly, has a French wife, and was before the war the representative for Bali at the people's parliament, the *Volksraad*, at Batavia, Java.

The history of the relations of Bali with Java, and through Java with the rest of Indonesia, can be summed up as follows.

*11th century.* The century is marked by the first recorded intermarriage of the royal houses of Java and Bali. King Erlangga, famed in legend, was the son of a Javanese princess and a Balinese *radja*. Through his mother he inherited the Javanese kingdom of Kadiri, which afterward split. Sivaite and Buddhist priesthoods were strong at this time, and, according to legend, the holy men were able to cross over the narrow straits between Java and Bali "riding on a leaf." However this may be, it is clear that communications were established at this time.

*14th century.* The great kingdom of Madjapahit in Java included Bali. When this kingdom fell before the advance of the Mohammedans, refugees from the top level of the Javanese social structure crossed over to Bali. Priests, princes, courtiers, skilled artisans, artists, musicians, dancers, all the literate and the wise who could be saved, escaped to Bali and set up there the stronghold of Hinduism which has resisted Islamization and Christianization down to the present day. In Bali "Madjapahit" is a word to conjure with; everything which is traditionally held in high esteem is referred to as Madjapahit, or

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## CHAPTER TWO

# THE IDENTITY OF RANGDA AND BARONG

Who is Rangda? What is the meaning of this mythological figure, whose power is held transfixed in a wooden mask, whose power is on each ceremonial occasion reaffirmed and reincarnate in the body of the man who plays her? Half a god and half a witch, she stands close as death to the living people. She is there, real, tangible, within arm's reach, the manifestations of her being are imminent and intimate and fiercely urgent; yet she looms out of the past, enormous, threatening, trailing all sorts of inglorious clouds, an evil nature and an evil reputation.

We are not the first to ask this question. The answers proposed by the various authorities who have studied the problem are turned according to the special interests of their individual disciplines. Thus, to the archeologist and student of Eastern religion, Rangda is Durga, the wife of Siva in her dread aspect. To the historian, she is Queen Mahendradatta, a true character out of Indonesian history, mother of King Erlangga, the Balinese prince who became king in Java in 1019 A.D. To the student of theatre, she is the angry widow (literally, *rangda* means widow), a stock character in a series of plays current in the human and puppet theatre in Bali, the chief character of the classic *Tjalonarang* play. To the contemporary ethnologist, she is a mother figure,[1] an expression of the parent child relations peculiar to the culture and of the character of the adult as determined by those early relations. To the psychologist, she is Fear.[2]

It must not be assumed that these various claims upon Rangda's identity are mutually exclusive or would invalidate each other. Rather I would like to show, as we pass in review the arguments, the phrasings, and some factual data presented in favor of each of these points of view, that a mythological figure such as this Rangda may have in its make up a deeply complex, laminated structure, layers upon layers of meaning reaching down into the present out of a foggy or accurately recorded past, for the most part deeply

[1] Bateson and Mead, 1942.
[2] *Ibid.*

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comprehended but not articulately stated by the people whom it most directly concerns.

And I shall try to show, by some actual examples, how such a mythological figure may come to life in the small hours at a village festival, may come to life and, by even the least little action, stir the whole community by her sanctity and strength and add by that much to her store of legend. It would be difficult to overstress how real this creature is to the present day Balinese. She has the sort of authenticity which in our culture belongs to Santa Claus, to the Tax Collector, and to the Angel of Death—with the difference that we could not very well imagine all these figures rolled into one, while the Balinese seem to find no difficulty in attributing to Rangda such a multiplicity. They know her well, they expect the worst of her. Whatever turn events may take, she will be evil, she will be female, she will be angry, she will destroy, she will behave like fear incarnate. And you cannot kill her. Over and over the Balinese reiterate, telling her stories, "you cannot kill her." It is not even any use to play out her death in the dramatic version, for she is always there, everlasting and indestructible, just Rangda.

But the strange thing is that any enactment of Rangda's role, either in institutionalized, ceremonial fashion or as a part of a dramatic performance offered outside the temple at the time of a festival or, perhaps most propitiously, when a temple member during the ceremony spontaneously goes into trance and is possessed by the god of the Rangda, and the mask, heretofore hidden away in a basket in one of the shrines where offerings are laid out, is brought forth and put upon the possessed's head and worn throughout his godly impersonation, is considered a fortunate occurrence, if not an actual exorcism, certainly in the nature of a reassurance that the powers of evil, though forever with us, are under control and in such close communication with living humankind that they may be quite easily propitiated and kept in a favorable frame of mind. It seems to give a Balinese a comfortable feeling to see this long fanged, long nailed, bulging eyed, hairy creature, with the hairy pendulous breasts, her whole body traversed by horizontal black and white stripes, cavorting and careening in the temple enclosure, to be brought finally to quiescence with incense and holy water, a few offerings, and a word or two of respect. The entranced player comes to himself, the mask is put away once more in the basket, stored in the temple. The player merges with the crowd, totally amnesic for what has happened.

To those who are interested in following the thread of Hindu influence coming down out of the past to form a part of the weft of current Balinese life, the consonance of the character of Rangda with that of Durga as they think of her is both striking and inescapable. But in following this thread,

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heritage of Hinduism, whether it came to him directly or as a part of Hindu Javanese tradition, belongs to a sort of fairy tale level of his fantasy, and within the very active creative life of the people, these historical legendary figures continually reappear in the dramas, paintings, and decorative arts.

It will be seen by referring to the above table that the year 900 is the approximate date given to the so called Lara Djonggrang temple group at Prambanan and that it was in the century immediately following this that the first close contact between Java and Bali was established. Now it is no accident that a figure of Durga from Prambanan, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was used as a frontispiece in Keith's volume on Indian mythology in the series, *The Mythology of All Races* (see Pl. XI, *b*). This outstandingly beautiful piece, chosen to head the volume and to illustrate the attributes of the Hinduistic deity, is entitled as follows:

Durga. The wife of Siva, in her dread aspect, slays the Asura Mahisa. Standing in an attitude of triumph on the demon, who, as his name implies, is in the shape of a buffalo, she drags his soul (symbolized in human form) from him. From a Javanese lava sculpture, probably from Prambanan, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[8]

Durga is here a graceful figure executed with great artistry and technical skill. The posture is rhythmically composed. One hip sways out, the torso swinging to the opposite side; one knee is gently flexed. The breasts are rounded, perfect. One is even able to accept her having six arms, two of them raised above her head, holding weapons, while in another hand she appears to hold the demon by the hair. Her face is impassive and mild, neither threatening nor smiling, though from the reproduction it seems that the [illegible] partly open and the teeth visible. In stylization this piece is represen[illegible] the best period of Hindu Javanese carving. As a work of art, it [illegible] satisfying rendering of "The Inaccessible."

It [illegible] somewhat difficult for those of us brought up in the religious tradition [illegible] gentle Christ to understand why it was that in Hinduism, the fierce and terrible aspect of the wife of Siva was played up rather than her softer side. Keith gives us an inkling of what Durga may have meant at that time when he explains her various names in the chapter of the work mentioned above entitled "The Great Gods of the Epic." He says

Closely akin to Siva is his wife Uma, the younger daughter of Himavant, whose gift of her to Rudra cost him the loss of all his jewels through a curse of Bhrgu, the sage of the gods, who came too late to seek her in marriage. As "Daughter of the Mountain" she is also Parvati, and Gauri ("the Radiant White One"), and Durga ("the Inaccessible"). The fancy of the poet, how-

[8] Keith, 1917, frontispiece.

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ever, derives this last epithet from the fact that she guards her devotees from distress (*durga*), and she is proclaimed as the refuge for those lost in the wilds, wrecked in the great ocean, or beset by evil men. Yet her normal aspect is terrible: she lives in trackless places, she loves strife and the blood of the Asura Mahisa, and in battle she conquers Danavas and Daityas. She is Kali or Mahakali, as her spouse is Kala, and she is called the deep sleep of all creatures.[6]

Dowson is in quite close agreement with Keith. He lists the following titles under Devi:

In her milder form she is Uma, "light" and a type of beauty; Gauri, "the yellow and brilliant;" Parvati, "the mountaineer;" and Haimavati, from her parentage; Jagan-mata, "the mother of the world;" and Bhavani. In her terrible form she is Durga, "the inaccessible;" Kali and Syama, "the black;" Chandi and Chandika, "the fierce;" and Bhairavi, "the terrible."[7]

It must be stressed that sources dealing primarily with Hinduism in India may give more elaborations of the godly personalities than perhaps were known in Indonesia. The use of the name Durga is rare in Bali. Devi, or Dewi, is known, and *dewa-dewi* is the usual, generic term for all gods. Uma is more rarely encountered, also Parvati. The other names I have not encountered, though *kala-buta* is currently used for all demons; and *chandi*, or *tjandi*, both in Java and in Bali means temple or shrine. The famous Balinese "split gate," which looks like a shrine cut down the center, from which the two sides have been forced apart to make an entrance, is known as "*tjandi bentar*." In Java, at the site of the famous temple from which the lovely statue of Durga described above was taken, the name of the goddess has been lost, and she is known as "Lara Djonggrang." Vlekke tells us

Near Prambanan, on the boundary between the present principalities of Djocjakarta and Surakarta and not far from the ruins of the Buddhist temples of the Shailendra period, an enormous complex of more recent temple ruins has been found. In one of these buildings, a statue is preserved. It is the statue of Durga, the "unapproachable," the goddess who is one of the personifications of Devi, the consort of Shiva.

The natives no longer know the significance of this statue. They have given it the name of "Lara Djonggrang," "slender maiden," and have connected it with the legend of a princess changed into stone by the curse of a rejected lover. In spite of the ignorance of the modern natives and of the fact that all Javanese now profess the Islamic faith, the centuries-old veneration of the statue continues. The simple Javanese people go to the ruins to offer money, fruit, and flowers to the goddess. Professor Krom, the most distinguished student of Hindu-Javanese history, once noticed that two goats were brought to the temple by a farmer as an offering. This farmer was certainly unaware that more than ten centuries ago the goat had been

[6] *Ibid*, p. 118.
[7] Dowson, 1928, "Devi."

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the favorite sacrificial animal for offering to Durga and that he, a Moslem, was following an old Hindu rite practiced by his ancestors.[8]

This sort of folk perpetuation of a tradition has been shown to be carried through in Bali, and it must always be taken into account as a possibility in tracing cultural elements through time. Dr. W. F. Stutterheim identified in Bali a number of mortuary statues of kings, carved in the images of gods, which had been removed from the site of the mortuary temple and set up in village temples. He assumes that the original terraces (similar to the Indian *mandapas*) and the figures were, after the fall of the dynasty, either demolished or abandoned. But the figures, "still regarded as holy, and feared by the population on account of their magic power were installed in temples where they could be cared for and supplied with offerings."

> Thus I found the figures in places to which they did not properly belong (Stutterheim says)—namely, in temples (*puras* [or *poesar*]), where the Balinese do not exactly know what to make of them now. To the people these figures are merely magically dangerous stones (fallen down from the sky, according to popular belief), of which one is afraid and so they must be cared for; their destruction might lead to some calamity. As for their original significance, it is completely forgotten.[9]

every year since that time to the holy spring of Tirta Mpul to be given a bath, and then back again to the village where it was enshrined. The day for the performance of this ceremonial bath was calendrically fixed, full moon of the fourth month. On deciphering the inscription, Stutterheim found that it was the charter of the foundation of the holy spring Tirta Mpul, on the day of full moon of the fourth month of the year 962. Though Dr. Stutterheim, with the true archeologist's enthusiasm, did not forbear to

Stutterheim supports his point by alluding to an inscription dating from 962 A.D. which he was able to decipher, though the stone had been carried tell the people who venerate this stone and keep it holy the facts of its origin —he remarks that "the communication of my findings was received in the place with no little interest"[10]—one would be inclined to guess that the people still keep it wrapped in its white cloth and provide it with offerings and take it every year for the ceremonial bath and retain only the vaguest memory of the tale told by a Tuan of an alternative origin for the very *sakti* stone.

It should be stated here in no uncertain terms that running through the literature of the 1920's and 1930's dealing with ethnographic data in the Indies, whether this literature is Dutch, English, German, or vari-European, the concept of the "magically powerful," "magically dangerous," "magically

[8] Vlekke, 1943, p. 27.
[9] Stutterheim, 1935, p. 28.
[10] *Ibid*, p. 29.

[These lines should be inserted at the beginning of the paragraph as indicated by arrow.--Analyst]

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weak" occurs with great frequency and alarmingly little critical evaluation. This set of ideas became current among Europeans writing about the area and was passed on from one to another, snowballing in apparent force but in effect becoming more and more distant from the indigenous thinking to which the ideas were referred. Except where the authors give a specific reference to the native term employed, all mention of "magic" forces, power, balance, and so on should be viewed with suspicion, and judgment held in reserve for the presentation of further evidence.

With this reservation, then, we may concede that the quality attributed by the Balinese to such objects as the ancient stone images and inscriptions, rendered by Stutterheim as "magic power," is in the Balinese language called *sakti*—a term reminiscent of the Polynesian *mana*, in that it connotes supernatural strength. *Sakti* is of course a Sanskrit term, translated by Dowson as "The wife or the female energy of a deity, but especially of Siva."[11] *Sakti* in Bali means holy, sacred—dangerous, too, if not properly handled—but it has lost, at least on the overt level, the connotation of femaleness belonging to the Sanskrit term. How much of it remains at a deeper level, contributing to the character and the personification of Rangda, we may later on be in a better position to judge.

Returning to actual representations of Durga dating from historic times, we find three stone carvings of her in the same aspect as the one from the Javanese Prambanan reproduced by Keith. Two of these are attributed by Stutterheim to the Old Balinese period, tenth to thirteenth centuries, and a third to the Middle Balinese period, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[12] The first of these, Figure 27 of his *Oudheden van Bali*, is entitled *Durga Mahisasuramardini* and was found in the temple, Poera Kedarman, at Koetri (see Pl. XII, *a*.). The figure is elongated, swaying as in a dance, the left leg extended to an unusual length and in unusual tension, the torso bent from the pelvis towards the same side, the left; head and torso form a continuous, quite rigid line at an angle to the line of the extended leg. The body is definitely articulated at the hip, its weight supported by the right leg, which is, presumably, slightly flexed, though the stone is here rather badly damaged. Of the face, nothing can be made out. The multiple arms bear the various weapons, and the figure is clearly seen to be standing upon the demon buffalo (bull?). The whole figure gives an impression of tensile strength and has a distinctly original character. The style does not appear to be directly influenced by that of the early tenth century Hindu Javanese at Prambanan, and if it were not for the content, one would have

[11] Dowson, 1928, "Sakti."
[12] Stutterheim, 1930.

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of hypotheses which would explain the present in terms stemming from an insufficiently known past.

In justice to Dr. Grader it must be said that he seems to have mentioned the Rangda connection with the Durga figure in passing, not intending to give it the stress which it receives when taken out of context. Actually, the decoration of the shrine in question is of minor importance in this temple, a head agrarian temple for dry agriculture. Along the front are large three dimensional figures of the whole dramatis personae of the Ramayana, with Kumbakarna, a giant figure, dominating them. Inside the second, inner court is an impressive carved throne of Surya, the Sun, flanked by the shrines to the male and female deities bearing Balinese names, *ratoe penaban sari, lanangistri*. Very careful investigations of the names given by Balinese temple members and priests to the various shrines within a temple, often very numerous, do not as a rule turn up any mention of Durga nor likeness recalling the familiar Rangda. Grader's study of Madénan, for example, an old style mountain village, gives seventeen named shrines and buildings within the village temple and, as one would expect, no mention of Durga or Rangda.[10] Goris' exhaustive study of Bali's head temple, Besakih, gives forty-nine named shrines and buildings, none for Durga or Rangda.[11] Those of us who worked especially on ceremonial in Bali over a period of years came to regard the existence of a named Durga shrine as very definitely a rarity, though Rangda masks kept in the temple were exceedingly common; and it was not unusual to find a set of three, four, or five Rangda masks all belonging to the same temple and said to be "related" (kin) to the Barongs and Rangdas of other villages in the region.

Before going on to actual instances of Rangda and Barong impersonations, a few words are in order on our knowledge of the historical period to which the Balinese refer the Rangda tales. Stutterheim refers the stories to the period of Erlangga, the eleventh century king whose mother was a Javanese and under whose rule the Javanese kingdom was split.[12]

Covarrubias, basing his view on Stutterheim's, states the historical background of the story as follows:

> At the beginning of the eleventh century a Balinese prince became the king of Java, the great Erlangga. His mother, Mahendradatta, was a Javanese princess who ruled Bali with her Balinese husband, Dharmodayana, until the husband, suspecting her of practising evil magic, exiled her to the forest.

[10] Grader, n.d.
[11] Goris, 1937.
[12] Stutterheim, 1935, *passim*.

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symbolic meaning of the rivalry of the Sivaite faith with the earlier entrenched Buddhism.

An alternative hypothesis for the origin of the Barong is that he came to Bali from China, a purely Chinese cultural form, a Chinese dragon in fact, who runs around the town at New Year's time and clears space of evil influence.[11] That this play with the mask and the multiple actors under the coat is a readily transmitted cultural form is attested to by his presence in New York City at the present time—the Chinese have brought him here, and he plays to a large and enthusiastic crowd every Chinese New Year. Money and food are given him in return for his protection, though he is terrifying and in order to present to him a cabbage the offerer impales it on the end of a long stick. Such a figure can travel, then, there can be no doubt. And we know that contact between Indonesia and China was established in Han times.

A Japanese student of anthropology in New York, after seeing films of the Balinese Barong, spontaneously remarked that in his village in Japan during his childhood such a mask dragon would come every year at New Year's season. It was called Chi Chi Mai and given money and food as offerings and played as a protection against evil. The only difference was, he said, that sometimes there was only one player.

The writer collected in Japan such a wooden mask, said to date from the eighteenth century (see Plate IX). In all its characteristic features, the bulging eyes, the great jowls, the hinged jaws with the hand hold for snapping them, it is clearly a very close relative of the Balinese Barong. Another specimen, also collected in Japan, is of wood covered with red lacquer. It is somewhat different in style and is said to date from the nineteenth century. It is not impossible that these masks and their ceremonial function entered China and Japan as a part of the Buddhist tradition. The form remained relatively frozen in Japan, as did other cultural items taken over from China; but in China itself and in the places to which Chinese have emigrated the mask is now made of papier mâché, renewable at each New Year's time, not cherished as a sacred object but kept alive only in the tradition.

In the past few years anthropologists have come to the realization that it is not sufficient to explain the presence of a myth figure by reference to culture contacts of the past. A myth to be entertained at all, must be integral to the culture at the time level under scrutiny. It is not enough to show that,

[11] Cf. Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 188: "The Dragon can mark out areas which are safe from witchcraft . . . and also he can mark out stretches of time, e.g., by opening and terminating the Witch play."

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by means of cultural diffusion, a given people were exposed to a given set of ethological constructs in the ethological make up of a neighboring people. Elements under such exposure do not always "take." And if they do take, they are likely to be transformed and refurbished according to the prevailing feeling in the receiving culture. An inner congruence exists within a culture at any point in time, an equilibrium between the various elements which compose it, such that, if any element is added or drops into oblivion, it reflects upon the total culture at that time. And if a single religious concept, myth figure, or fairy tale is accepted from without or independently evolved, the whole culture is to that extent modified. Children are brought up on these tales; parents' attitudes are modified in concordance with the current belief. They warn, shield, console, and threaten the young with the mythological and religious figures in mind. Fear and fantasy in the adult are communicated to the child in a thousand subtle ways, in the tone of voice in which a father speaks, in the roll of a mother's eye, or in the shiver that runs down her spine as she holds the child in her arms. There is a channeling of feeling which runs out of the realm of fantasy into that of reality, so that the whole culture expresses this feeling not only in the formation of the individuals who make it up, but in its ordering of day to day behavior, its method of economy, its patterned exchanges, and its ceremonial and secular ritual. Kardiner has stated this point as follows:

> The value of the whole genetic approach lies in its being able to show us how certain integrational systems come into being; and we made it our special concern to track down those systems we designated as projective, in contrast to those of taught or rational origin on the basis of which scientific systems are built. In every society studied we found evidences of these two systems. The empirical reality systems we found in the manipulation and making of tools, the knowledge of planting, and so forth; the projective systems in religion, folklore, and many other systems.
>
> These two types of mental process depend upon different orders of experience. The differentiating feature is not that one has an emotional constituent and the other not. Both have emotional components. Rational thinking is driven by curiosity and has such goals as mastery and utility. The emotional component of projective thinking is made up of all those affects which accompany human relations. In the systems built on a projective basis the conclusions drawn do not depend on any fixity in nature, but on sequences which are contingent on institutionalized practices conveyed by parents or other people in the environment of the growing child. Hence our interest in the genetic aspects. The experiential base of a projective system is generally forgotten; its only remains in the personality are to be found in the conditioned perceptions, meanings, affects, psychosomatic reactions, and behavior. It is a feature of such projective systems that they are capable of extension upon situations which have no actual resemblance to the experiences on which they were based. This may be called *symbolic extension.*[*]

[*] Kardiner, 1945, pp. 38-39.

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It is Kardiner's contention that from the early experiences in a given culture a "nuclear constellation" is laid down, which "creates an unconscious base from which any number of projective systems can arise."* Because he began with individual psychology and extended it to culture, Kardiner puts the setting of the projective system in what he calls the basic personality structure parallel to that which he would give a projective system in an individual. Projective systems are said to arise, as though in each member of the culture the same one arose anew, out of the psychodynamic forces which he points out. Actually, there is room for acceptance or rejection by the individual within the culture of the projective systems offered to him by his culture, for elaboration and denial within the limits set by the culture and by his individual personality as formed within that culture out of the original human material born into it.

Margaret Mead introduces the Witch theme in Balinese culture with explicit reference to parent child relations and to the reciprocal effect of these upon the myth figure and of the myth figure upon the parent child relations. She says:

> While the Balinese child is passing through this first period of responding with passion to his mother's gay, disassociated teasing . . . he is also the spectator of the drama in which the Balinese express their feeling about such a mother-role. The Witch play, the *Tjalonarang*, the definitive dramatic theme of Balinese parent-child relations, not only expresses the residue in the adults of what they experienced as children, but also is watched by children and shapes their reading of the experiences to which they are subjected daily. It colors the child's appreciation of his mother's behavior, and stylizes his attitude toward her.
>
> The plot of the play, which begins as a simple theatrical performance and usually ends in a series of violent trances with full religious paraphernalia of offerings and ritual, varies in detail from village to village, but is essentially uniform. The Witch is angry at a king because he or his son has rejected her daughter, or married her and then rejected her, or simply because the king has accused her of witchcraft. She summons her disciples—played by the most attractive little girls or by little boys dressed as little girls—and, dressed as an old hag, she schools them in witchcraft. They go forth and spread plague and disaster over the land. People are driven from their homes; babies are born and strangled by the witches and tossed back dead into the parents' laps; corpses fill the land. All of these horrors are in the broadest, slapdash comedy interspersed with exaggerated theatrical emotions. Then the king of the desolated country sends his ambassador, or he may come himself to fight the Witch, now no longer an old and infirm woman, but a masked supernatural being whose tongue is studded with flame, whose nails are many inches long, whose breasts are abhorrently hairy and pendulous, and whose teeth are tusks. Against her the emissary fails. He retires from the stage and is transformed into the Dragon (a two-man mask), who is as friendly and puppyish a beast as the Witch is terri-

* *Ibid*, p. 42.

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wafted smoke towards hers three times and sat back relaxed and gave up her little god figure to Ketjig.

Margaret Mead distinguishes here the outstanding trance performers and sees in their differential behavior a greater or lesser degree of witchlike character in the female role. It is also quite clear that she sees in the little god figures something equivalent for the female to the kris for the male, something between a phallus and a baby. In her view, as in mine, there is an underlying principle of female fertility symbolically expressed in the little puppet-like figures. But the witchery, the threat, and the evil quality she sees surrounding this aspect of the ceremonial I tend to see rather in the Rangda manifestations and in the undifferentiated aspects of the Durga theme.

*Sindoe, April* 27, 1937 (*afternoon*). Let us go back now to the Barong and the part he and his followers played in this village on the second day of the three day festival with which we were dealing earlier. Prominent on this day were Ketjig, Toeroen (who stabs himself in the cheek), and Poetoe, one of the subjective Rangdas. The play began about five-thirty in the afternoon. Ketjig was prowling up and down the performance place outside the temple when the Barong began to play. A secondary Rangda, also masked, called Pendemprat, is here so powerful that it is said as soon as she turns around the kris dancers go into trance. The order of events was, then, first a dance of Barong opposite Raroeng (played by Toeroen), the Rangda's chief pupil. Then Rangda (played by Poetoe) was led out from the temple. Barong again danced opposite Raroeng. Then Barong retires; Raroeng tells Rangda she was beaten. Rangda, furious, dances her angry dance. Barong comes up, challenges Rangda; they dance their eternal enmity. Then the secondary Rangda, Pendemprat, is led out from the temple and stands, her back turned, facing away from the dance place. Barong and Rangda continue their dance, and the trancers gather at the other end of the space. There is a commotion—they go off too soon. They have to be held, forcibly restrained. But Ketjig is not one of the premature ones.

Pendemprat turns around. Seven men dash towards her and fall, among them Toeroen and a child. Ketjig is the first to dash the length of the place, fifty yards, and fall at her feet. His lips move; he pants; his eyes are closed. He lies with his arms extended, right arm bent at elbow, hands relaxed palms up.[4] The Barong approaches and stands over the men in trance. Ketjig's

[4] Dr. van Wulfften-Palthe published, in a paper on these subjects, a photograph of Ketjig in such a fit as an example of the *totstellreflex* (van Wulfften-Palthe, 1940).

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of the official Dutch government. This man has himself no place in the village council. But his father, who is now an old man to whom no one pays much attention, was once *kĕbayan*, holding the highest position in his half of the village [1]). According to the village-laws a *kĕbayan* is superannuated when his youngest child is married. He becomes *sayă*, a place of honor without power, and the position of *kĕbayan* is filled by the next highest member of his half of the village council. To the house of the Prĕbĕkĕl came that evening several of the elders from the council — there were things to discuss in the order of the ceremonies to come. In three days' time would begin the *odalan* in the temple, replacing the big *usabă* ceremony which was due on that day, at full moon. The *odalan* [2]) would last two days, and afterwards the gods must go away. They must be carried in procession to the sea or to a holy bathing place, where they would receive their "bath of purification" (*ngĕlungayang* or *mĕlis*). For in the case of the birth of boy and girl twins even the gods are dirtied. So far it had not been decided to which place the procession would go, nor on what day. The Prĕbĕkĕl would have to inform the Punggawă, head of the district, who would report to the Dutch Controleur what was being done in Sukawană. But that night nothing was decided. When the fire began to burn low the visiting elders went away, and the people of the house rolled themselves in their blankets to sleep.

On the morning following the big *mĕrĕyaschitä*, we were surprised to find offerings for *mĕcharu* again laid out in

[1]) The villagers are divided into two groups, *tĕngĕn* (right) and *kiwă* (left), into which they are born and remain throughout their life. Each group has its *kĕbayan*.

[2]) The *odalan* is not described because it was a ceremony belonging to the ordinary calendar of festivals in the Purä Balé Agung, and had nothing to do with the ceremonies occasioned by the birth of the twins. It is curious, however, to note that the *odalan* took place between the twin ceremonies, that is after the *mĕrĕyaschita* and before the *mĕlis*. In other villages where *mĕlis* was required for the birth of twins, it was arranged to take place before the *odalan*, and the people believed that only after *mĕlis* could an *odalan* be celebrated.

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the Hindu tradition. Probably it was for their benefit that the priests evolved the complicated differences in the birth of twins, whether there were two placentas or only one, whether the boy was born first, etc., and posited that only in one special combination of conditions could the offending parents be said to 'affront the Rajă'. Even on these points the priestly authorities do not agree, so that even more leeway is afforded by their varying doctrines. Theoretically a man could go from authority to authority seeking one whose version would absolve him from his wrong. In Pĕliatan the question came up in the case of twins whether the village should follow the dictates of the Padandă Bodă, who said that three *galungan's* could not be celebrated after the birth, or the words of the Padandă Siwă, who said that the *galungan* immediately following the purification might be celebrated. In Sanur where there are twenty-one Padandă's, the scope of opinions is infinite. But the ordinary Jabă, unaccustomed as he remains to Hindu thought, rarely appeals to the priest for an excuse to escape his dilemma.

Perhaps it should be explained that all investigations which touch upon the religion of Bali are hampered and obscured by the confused background of the people, about which very little is definitely known. The only histories are genealogies kept by the various royal families, which do not agree with each other, which "have holes in them and do not join" as one Balinese put it, and whose very names for the kings cannot be identified with the kings of the tales and legends kept alive in the minds of the people. If one tries to sift out what part of a rite or custom is of Hindu or Hindu-Javanese origin, and what part Old Indonesian, one gets into difficulties — for not only is every village different from every other village in Bali, but no purely Hindu village or household exists, and probably no Bali-agă village exists which has not been at some time and in some way influenced by Hindu custom. The great body of the religion of Bali seems to be ancestor worship, combined with a certain amount of animism in

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and girl twins. He prayed and prayed, he studied and meditated to become holy, he prayed at the Gunung Agung, day and night he fasted and did not drink nor sleep, for he was in real ascesis. He concentrated in the *lumbung* (sanggar) on the Gunung Agung (Bĕsakih) on the day of full moon in the tenth month, together with the Bujanggă and Siwă (Pedanda's Bodă and Siwă), as witnesses. This was the behavior of the Rajă, meditation on the *lumbung*, in order that the rule of the Rajă's of Bali should be strong and long-lasting.

It will be seen that this "story" is far from clear, and Balinese scholars themselves do not seem to understand it. The various names given to the characters cannot be definitely identified with those to whom they refer. And other obscurities of language are interpreted according to the prejudice of the reader. For instance, in the passage "if there are people in the country of Bali who affront the Rajă by having twins *bunching*" the word *wong*, meaning simply people, is taken by the authority from Bangli to mean "people of Sudră or Wésyă caste". Another would interpret it to mean only Sudră's, another all people except the Rajă himself and his priests, as stated later on in the passage. But this again is not clear, for the phrase *Sang Bujanggă Brahmană* is extremely obscure and open to many interpretations. *Bujanggă* is a title claimed not only by Siwă and Bodă Padandă's but by Sĕngguhu's as well. Sĕngguhu's would here claim that the word Bujanggă refers to them, and the word Brahmană does not modify it, that is, giving immunity from *manak salah* to Sĕngguhu's *and* to Brahmans. When referring to the celebration of the ceremonies, the phrase *Bujanggă Siwă* was interpreted Sĕngguhu and Padandă Siwă — when referring to the meditations of the Rajă, Sang Bujanggă Siwă was interpreted Padandă Bodă and Padandă Siwă. I merely call attention to these discrepancies so that the reader may take them into account. It will be noted that the name of the king who was a twin is not disclosed.

The lontar Bhagawăn Garga has a further passage on twins:

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*845 Bhagawān Garga has a further passage on Twins: The lontar
783 It is the way for people with wrong children (*manak salah*),
539 male and female born, to be banished by the people of the village, to be sent out from the house, to be placed at the graveyard, for a month and seven days they remain at the graveyard and may not return home to sleep. After the time is up they may come back to the village, and have the ceremonies *amalukat, maprisaddi, madudus déning chatur kumbă* = purifying (bathing) with water from the four Vessels, at the big crossroads (here the offerings are enumerated)... the ceremony *padudusan* (bathing) to be accompanied with *mantrā's* (prayers) of the complete *prayaschitā* i.e. *Sayam Brahmă, Ganastawă, Bhuwanéçwari, Nadayă, Astupungku.*

They must make the *Sanggar Tawang* (bamboo shrine for the
[782] gods). (The offerings are enumerated, both to be put up in this
[776] shrine for the uranic gods (*suchi*) and to be set out on the ground for the chthonic gods (*charu*)). Those who officiate are *Sang Siwă* (Padandă Siwă) and *Sogată* (Padandă Bodă), offerings *daksinā* and *pras.* As soon as the people are purified (*adudus*), the house in the graveyard is burned, is sprinkled with holy water, using the necessary offerings *prayaschitā* and *sēsayut.* When this is done, the uncleanness of the people with twins is erased. Then they may go back to their house. This is required by divine law.

(More about the offerings) ... and the possessions of the people with twins may not be taken and used for ceremonies nor for *charu* before they have been purified (*malukat*). After they have been purified the festivals may go on in all the temples. And the people of the village are forced to contribute according to their means (*nistă, madyă, utamă*, poor, middle, rich). The people who have twins must beg for contributions in ten *Balé Agung's* before the ceremony *malukat*, but they may not sleep in the villages.

*845 Here we find in two different passages of a single lontar
189 sets of rules which do not correspond. The first text which
● 114 the Rajă expounds to his people, banishes the twin-family to the crossroads, the second text names the graveyard. In the second no mention is made of *ngēlungah*, nor of *mēkiis.* Although we found *mēkiis* (carrying the gods to the sea or to the river) or *mēlis* customary in most villages after

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the birth of twins, we were told in Klungkung and in Kĕ-tèwèl that it was not done there. It will be noted that in the Bhagawan Garga lontar, the Rajă tells his people that three galungan's may not be celebrated after the birth, although the later section does not speak of it. Another lontar, from Tabanan (Kabă-Kabă) specifically denies the restriction. And as I have told, the Padandă Bodă from Pĕliatan recommended this measure in a case of twins there, but his advice was not followed, and I have never happened to find a case where the stopping of three galungan festivals did occur.

Rarely one finds the time of banishment for the family of twins extended to three months. In the old village of Trunyan, for instance, twins of unlike sex are placed at the *trugtug*, where the dead are not buried but only exposed for three months (*sasih*), whereas twins of like sex are only banished to a hut in the fields outside the village limits, for forty-two days. J. de Vroom apparently was told that *manak salah* entails banishment to the graveyard for three months of thirty-five days [1]). And the Sĕngguhu Rĕsi Nabé from Pĕdjatèn (near Tabanan), who is a most famous priest and teacher of Sĕngguhu's, and whose pupils practice all over South, North, and West Bali, also said *bunching* twins were to be banished for three *sasih* months of thirty-five days. We found in the following fragment of a lontar from Bulèlèng, *Sima dèça Bulèlèng*, the time stated as three *tilĕm*, or dark moons, which is of course not the same thing as three *sasih*.

If a full member of the society of the Balé Agung, or a person living in the desa Bulèlèng, begets *anak salah* even though they are Brahman, Wésyă, Satryă, or 'people of the fields', it makes the country dirty, the entire village. They must be banished (temporarily) by the villagers, and placed at the *talugtug* (junction of three roads) of the graveyard, and the house of the 'wrong ones' must be brought there, for three dark moons. As soon as three dark moons have passed, the wrong ones must purify the

[1]) J. DE VROOM, *Aanteekening uit eene Balische Adversaria. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* Vol. XVIII.

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* 895 539 783

village as above, *anapuhin prayangané tiga çakti* (purify the Purà Balé Agung, Purà Dalĕm, Purà Puseh); and they must *mĕkiis*, and give a feast to the villagers, including a performance of the gamĕlan gong. Before the country, the entire village, has been purified, and the offerings made to the gods *katiga çakti* (of the three temples), they may not worship the gods. The offerings are dedicated by the Sĕngguhu. If this is done, all is well with the country, if it is not done, the gods may not be worshipped, the ceremony *angrasakin* (for the agricultural gods) is forbidden, making the rice-goddess *Nini* in the fields is forbidden, that is called the country impure (*sampĕt*), all the ceremonies must not be. If this ruling is disobeyed, the fine is 22,500 (kèpèngs).

It may be noted that the Bhagawan Gargà lontar specified *ngĕlungah* at dark moon. If this took place on the dark moon following the forty-two days of exile, it might very well fall on the third dark moon after the birth. The following lontar from Tabanan also places *ngĕlungah* at dark moon. It has much to say about the names and varieties of twin-births:

[119]

If twins are born with one *ari-ari* (placenta) it is called *tunggal* (one, single); if they are male and female, and the female has no *ari-ari*, the name is *tunggal* male. If the male has no *ari-ari*, the name is *tunggal* female. If there is only one *ari-ari* it is not necessary to banish the people, for it does not make impure. But they should have a ceremony ... (here the offerings are enumerated, specifying what the father of the twins must give, and that the villagers must help to contribute what the father cannot supply). He should have the ceremony, because it is called *kĕnchĕlan ing dèwa* (a dirtying of the gods). This is the way of the ceremony.

And if both have an *ari-ari*, but one is born *mahĕlatan* (later, separated by a space of time from the first child), it is also called *tunggal*, everything thereafter is *tunggal*, the offerings *tunggal* ... The people should bathe in *yèh suddhămalà*, *yèh mangĕning* (water from sacred springs).

The rules for *manak salah* follow, giving the offerings required for the purification (*sasakapan*) at (1.) the *kubu*,

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we have found, exist between one text and another, and the illogical, confused order, even contradictions, appearing within a single text. It is to be said, however, that there is no reason why the texts originating in different districts should coincide, for these were in the old days under the rule of different princes. As the years went by each royal family developed its laws independently, and as we have seen, the people considered the laws for *manak salah* to come from the king. And the custom within individual villages would tend to take on its own character, for there was and still is little connection between the doings of one village and the next. The position of the Sĕngguhu is curious, for as these priests are rare, they generally have to be called from a distant village to officiate in the village where they are needed. Then, although they may have their own rules to be followed, they merely play their role according to the custom of the village which has engaged them. In Taro, where twins were born three times within two years because the disaster occurred in three different families, each of these chose to call in a different Sĕngguhu priest. But the way of the ceremony remained the same, following the laws of Taro. So that in the case of the lontar of the Sĕngguhu in Tonjă, it is possible that it would never be referred to except when *manak salah* happened in that very village.

Out of the confusion which a study of a single ritual has shown to exist in Bali, I can draw no conclusions. I can only hope that scholars on examining the data will find it useful in reconstructing a picture of the early culture of Bali, and by comparison with other material be able to judge whether or not the roots of the custom pertaining to twins lie in pre-Hindu times.

Sayan, Bali, Sept. 1, 1934.

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# THE BALINESE TEMPER*

JANE BELO
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121 157 181 In examining the psychological character of a people such as the Balinese, who number more than a million, we have no choice but to take up one by one the simple habits of the individual which are common to the people as a whole, noting the patterns occurring in the adult, and how the child by his early conditioning is molded into a personality essentially Balinese. If, in an effort to cast light upon problems of personality, one wished to set forth special traits, special individual developments to be found among the Balinese, one would find it difficult to make one's self understood unless some picture had previously been drawn of the people's psychological nature, as evidenced in the general character of their ways of behaving. For what are among them universal traits might be mistaken for individual deviations. Therefore it seems advisable to describe the general trend of personality development against a background suggesting the tenor of the life, the modes of feeling and of activity, which may range from a subdued stillness to states of exalted animation without being excluded from the habitual and universal trends.

By the Balinese temper I mean the nature and ways of the people as a whole. In my presentation individual examples will serve as illustrations of the general trends, and in certain cases indicate deviations from them. I believe that the Balinese exemplify by their behavior how closely the individual may be required to conform to patterns laid down by the social group, with what rhythmic and unstrained ease he may, under such laws, accomplish the tasks exacted of him, and in what apparent contentment he may exist, when no problem is without an answer in his scheme of things. A description of the making of such adjustments, and the formation of the personality

[114]

* This study is based on four years' acquaintance with the people, during which I resided with my husband, Colin McPhee, in a wholly Balinese village, making studies of the arts, music, legends, and rituals in their intimate correlation with Balinese life.

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# A STUDY OF A BALINESE FAMILY

By JANE BELO

## INTRODUCTORY

OF a people numbering more than a million, divided into castes, into districts which have felt the varying influences of separate dynasties of rulers, and whose religion and social structure appear in all forms from the ancient Bali-Agă to the orthodox order of the Sivaite and Buddhist Pedandas, one would be bold indeed to attempt a study of *the family*. There are no statistics, and generalizations are almost certain to be, in some sense, false. But it is true that more than ninety percent of the Balinese are Sudra, the fourth and lowest Hindu caste, called in Bali djabă,[1] or outsiders. This is to distinguish them from the Brahmana, Satrya, and Wesya, who claim descent from the Hindu-Javanese invaders of Madjapahit, conquerors of the island in the fourteenth century. These djabă are, then, more "insiders" than outsiders, the real Balinese. They are organized into village groups, the desă, each with its council to which belong all married men who are householders. The desă has its individual adat (customary law), functioning quite apart from the laws laid down by the radjas of the past or the present Dutch administration. The village has a sub-organization into two or more bandjars, spatial divisions, each with its own meeting place for the men. The bandjars may once have been divisions of family groups, but now they resemble clubs, which rival each other in gamelan and theatrical performances, whose young men nourish a feud, and whose children dare not cross the invisible line which limits their own bandjar, lest they be set upon by "the other gang." Religion to the djabă means the regular giving of offerings to the spirit of his ancestors, in his own sanggah or household temple; offerings to the gods in the village temples, under the tutelage of the Pemangkoe, a priest also of djabă caste; propitiation of demons and bad spirits, on the roadside before the house,

[1] Throughout this paper I have used the Dutch phonetic spelling for Balinese terms. This is the spelling in current use in Bali, taught in the schools.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| dj | is pronounced as j in jam | (djabă) |
| j | is pronounced as y in yam | (wajan) |
| nj | is pronounced as ny in canyon | (njoman) |
| tj | is pronounced as ch in chew | (tjenik) |
| oe | is pronounced as oo in moon or u in put | (doestă, ketoet) |
| e | is short unless accented, as in French | (ketoet, madé, metèn) |
| i | is pronounced as ee in deep | (bibi) |
| | or as i in tick | (tjenik) |
| a | is pronounced as in father | (djabă) |
| final ă | is pronounced as the final a in America | (djabă) |

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58 *lilit linting* the form suggests a *lingga* encircled by a snake as in the similar Tantric symbol. However, the snake of the *lilit linting* if it is indeed a snake makes only two and a half coils, while in the Tantric symbol the snake makes three and a half coils around the *lingga*. The term *lilit linting* means 'tightly entwined' 'tightly wound around, as a snake around an arm', but the coiled part was not referred to by the offering maker as a snake.

This offering is also made in dough and in another representation, plaited from palm leaf it is a component of the *lis* (No 15).

It is of interest to note that this particular object has also aquired a magical significance. I was told that the market women place an earthenware *lilit linting* amongst their wares in order to awaken the desire of the buyers'.

59 The name of this object was given as *kuwik* or *tuwik* (supra No 42) and as *balé gading* (infra No 66). I doubt whether either name is correct.

60 *tumpéng* a cone-shaped pile of rice. These *tumpengs* and the accompanying flat, round, rice-offerings are prepared for all festive occasions, and may be compared with the large *gunungans* which are a feature of the Javanese *garébégs*.[28] In Java the conical heaps of rice are referred to as 'male' and the flat mounds as 'female', but I have never heared these designations in Bali.

61 The name is unknown; perhaps slightly damaged.

62 *padang gagulung* rolled up grass stalks; also made in dough; and is given by Swellengrebel, op. cit., as a component of the *lis*.

63 *bagya* or *bingin* tree of good luck or *waringin* tree, with four upturned branches, between which there is a bird, and four hanging branch roots. The *bagya* is also made in dough and occurs again as a component of the *lis* (No 21).

64 *anchak* a sacred tree; also made in dough, and it similarly occurs again as a component of the *lis* (No 21).

65 *kuwik* or *tuwik* used with libation offerings (Cf No 42); also made in dough.

66 *balé gading* ivory pavilion; also made in dough and also a component of the *lis* (No 44) and then alternatively designated as *timpal lis*, companion of the *lis*.

The identically named items amongst the *itih-itih peladuwan* and the components of the *lis* are as follows —

[28] Clearly distinguishable in Pl. 21 and Pl. 22 in *De Garébég's te Ngajogjakarta* by J. Groneman, The Hague, 1895. The text to these illustrations wrongly indicates the male symbol as the female symbol and the female symbol as the male symbol, as can be seen from a comparison with the photos opposite p. 20 in *De Garebegs in het Sultanaat Jogjakarta*, by R. Soedjono Tirtokoesoemo, Bunong, Jogyakarta, 1931.

[114]

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*783 to the cock

Om! Thou, Kundi-rakas! Let it be thy task to peck away and fly off to the sea
788 with the afflictions and the blemishes of him who is being purified;
539 There these defilements will be dissolved;
om am ksama-sampurna ya namah swaha.

●114 Although the women assistants who carry the duck and the cock do
788 not recite any *mantras* I have quoted the material I have found in the various texts, for it is not often that the purpose of a Balinese offering is so clearly indicated.

776 The drake and the cock are dedicated to the gods of the four directions
778 and they are identified with Garuda, the 'vehicle' of Wisnu. The function
825 of the birds is to peck away the *mala-pataka* (sins and impurities – but in this instance in a ritual sense rather than in a moral sense).

I have also seen the purificatory ritual with the drake and the cock
*783 at domestic ceremonies *(manusa-yadnya)*, such as marriage ceremonies,
[585] and the *nĕlu bulanin*. The birds are brought to the *padanda*. On one occasion I saw one of the birds actually eating the rice grains which had
778 been placed on the arms of the bride.
825 A drake or cock which has pecked away the impurities from a child at the *nĕlu bulanin* is not – except from absolute necessity – killed by the parents for eating. The bird may never be given away, and if the child becomes attached to the bird it is regarded more or less as his own property, or rather as his personal 'scapegoat', a repository for his ritual impurities. When the bird dies it must be buried [46].

At ceremonies held for the purification of a person the duck and the cock are wafted *(atabin)* at the person being purified.

This completes the description of the *èténh-ètèh padudusan* and the manner in which these objects are used, and the interpretation of their significance.

*783 To conclude I give the description, as it was given to me, of a mask
536 play which sometimes terminates those temple festivals where the purificatory ritual discussed above – the preparation of holy water by a *padanda*, the performance of the *wayang lĕmah*, and the use of the *èténh-ètèh padudusan* – takes place. The mask play, performed by a single player wearing a Kala mask called *tapĕl pajégan* [47] or *siddhi-karya* (the succes of the ceremony) is the story of Kala who devoured mortals by the thousands at the crossroads. The climactic point is reached when the performer seizes a child from the audience as if he were going to devour it. Frightened, the child begins to cry, and is then ransomed for a few *kèpèngs*. By this means Kala's power is broken and the purpose of the ceremony is achieved.

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[46] Cf. my paper 'The Changeling in Balinese Folklore and Religion', BKI 116/4, 1960, pp. 424–436.

[47] *Topĕl pajégan* or *topèng pajégan*, 23 march–1 may 1961 exhibited in Gemeente Museum, The Hague, cf. guide 'De Kunst van Bali, vorleden en heden' No. 145.

A [183 cont.]
114 tanah. We owe our knowledge of Noefoerese [Nuforese], the
19 Papuan of Doreh Bay, and of Belonese [Belu] (Timor) to the
N missionaries of the Utrecht Missionary Society, and the honor
T of making Sundanese better known belongs to the missionaries
S of the Netherlands Missionary Society.
114
19

Meanwhile, the Government has not been inactive. Various persons have been appointed to study one or another language. For example, after the death of Dr. Engelmann, it took over the Bible Society's task of studying Sundanese and Dr. Koorders was appointed to do it. He, too, however, could not see his work completed. After his death, Mr. Oosting was appointed, and the fruit of his work has been published, a Sundanese dictionary and grammar.

S
114
19

B After the missionaries of the Utrecht Missionary Society
114 had started the study of Balinese, the Government acquired the
19 services of Dr. van der Tuuk, who is now continuing these studies. It would carry us too far afield, however, to mention the names of all those who have rendered service by such studies.

Finally, the officials in the Civil Service are nowadays greatly concerned with language studies and have made many important contributions.

MP We need not dwell on what has been and still is being
114 done in our country for the Malayo-P nesian languages in
19 general, [184] but we shall say a fe words about this science which through the broadening of our knowledge in recent times has made great progress. We have comparative Malayo-Polynesian linguistics in mind. To avoid mentioning too many names, it is Professor Kern in particular who has made this study a science. Passing over a number of minor publications, we shall only mention his works, Over de verhouding van het Mafoorsch of Noefoorsch tot de Maleisch Polynesische talen [On the relations between the Mafoor or Nuforese language and the Malayo-Polynesian languages] (1884), and particularly his work of 1886, De Fidji taal vergeleken met hare verwanten in Indonesië [The Fiji language compared with related languages in Indonesia]. The

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Sundanese OE7 Batak OD5
Bali OF7 ● Minangkabau OD10
Ngadju OC9
Javanese OE5



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B. EFFECTIVENESS OF INDONESIAN LEGAL TERMINOLOGY

To these remarks on Dutch as a legal language in relation to adat law, we must now add two remarks on native legal language. First: the conscious technical development of the language used to indicate legal relations and transactions has in some degree here and there (Batak, Minangkabau, and Sunda) taken a direction of its own. But everywhere it has lagged compared to the present-day development of a class of native lawyers. This is naturally so, because this development takes place in Dutch, and there has been no initiative to adapt the native language up to now (1939). Vergouwen's book on the Toba-Batak, with its use of Batak words for important law rubrics, does more for this than anything else. Korn, also, called for more attention to the legal language of Bali, which is technically developed to a high point, and he calls for more attention to the destructive influence on it of the present-day use of Malay in the native courts. Indonesian lawyers should resume this native terminology and see what there is to learn from it for a better discernment of native distinctions and native legal conceptions. We think, for instance, of the numerous names for delicts and penalties for delicts which have baffled Dutch practitioners of adat law.

Secondly: There must nearly always be an "actual" relation between institutions and transactions indicated by similar terms, and an "actual" difference between differently named institutions and transactions. We must have a better understanding of the terms for land and possessions in relation to their legal status. We must distinguish between necessary and accidental terminology. Therefore, the determination of native terms is eminently necessary. Mallinckrodt gives some striking examples of the search for the kernel of meaning in apparently divergent legal terms. His interest in the problem of legal language, like that of Korn and Vergouwen, is influenced by van Vollenhoven's *Indonesische Rechtstaal* (1922), in which these problems were posed for the first time. The job of tracing and sifting the meanings of words is of a very subtle nature. To indicate some of the most well-known problems: what is the legal significance of such terms as "adol," "jual," "tuku," "beli," and words etymologically connected with them? There is a little adat literature about the word "tukon," meaning the payment which takes place at a Javanese marriage, but there is no unanimity in it; this is also true of the word "adol." What is the significance of the fact that a Dyak tribe uses the same word to

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